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A Documentary History of American Industrial Society

Volume X

OFFICIAL ORGANS, 1860–1880

Including those of national unions of farmers, shoemakers, molders, machinists and blacksmiths, socialists, miners, and engineers

A Documentary History of American Industrial Society

Edited by John R. Commons
Ulrich B. Phillips, Eugene A. Gilmore
Helen L. Sumner, and John B. Andrews

Prepared under the auspices of the American Bureau of Industrial Research, with the co-operation of the Carnegie Institution of Washington

With preface by Richard T. Ely
and introduction by John B. Clark

Volume X

Labor Movement

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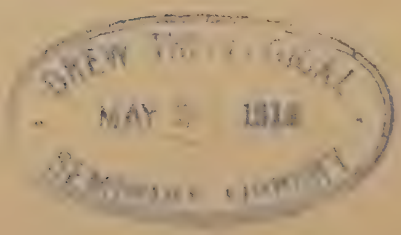

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LABOR MOVEMENT
1860-1880

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Volume II

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V

THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR

1. INITIATION CEREMONY

From a Manual, not dated. The Opening Service and Initiation were drafted by Uriah S. Stephens. The Master Workman's charge was drafted by William Fennimore. The whole was prepared in November, 1869. Stephens's interpretation of the Initiation and Founding Ceremonies is given in Powderly's *Thirty Years of Labor*, 170-180.[1] The key to abbreviations is reproduced in part from the Manual.

ABBREVIATIONS

M. W.	Master Workman
W. F.	Worthy Foreman
V. S.	Venerable Sage
W. I. or W. INS.	Worthy Inspector
A.	Almoner
R. S.	Recording Secretary
F. S.	Financial Secretary
W. T. or T.	Worthy Treasurer
S.	Statistician
U. K.	Unknown Knight
A. U. K.	Assistant Unknown Knight
I. E.	Inside Esquire
O. E.	Outside Esquire
J.	Judge
J. A.	Judge Advocate
C.	Clerk
O. V.	Outer Veil
I. V.	Inner Veil
S. of O.	Sign of Obliteration
S. of D.	Sign of Decoration
S. of R.	Sign of Recognition
S. of C.	Sign of Caution
C. of D.	Cry of Distress

[1] We are indebted to Hon. Terence V. Powderly, Grand Master Workman from 1879 to 1893, for information used in our notes.— EDS.

S. O. and M. A.	Secrecy, Obedience, and Mutual Assistance
A. (***)	Assembly
L. A. (***)	Local Assembly
D. A. (*****)	District Assembly
G. A.	General Assembly
A. K.	Adelphon Kruptos (Secret Brotherhood)
A. T. P. W.	Annual Travelling Password
F. and I.	Founding and Installation

ADELPHON KRUPTOS

OPENING SERVICE. A Globe being placed on the outside of the Outer Veil; a copy of the Sacred Scriptures closed, and a box or basket, containing blank cards on a triangular Altar, red in color, in the centre of the vestibule; a Lance on the outside of the Inner Veil, or entrance to the Sanctuary, over the wicket; that the initiated may know that an Assembly of the * * * * * are in session.

The *M. W.* will proceed to open an Assembly in due form as follows:

Precisely at the hour for opening, the M. W. standing at the Capital, shall give one rap and say, "All persons not entitled to sit with us will please retire." After a short pause, he will say:

M. W. The proper Officer will satisfy himself that all present are entitled to sit with us, and make the proper record. . .

INITIATION. [The assistant U. K. meets the candidate in the vestibule.]

A. U. K. Do you believe in God, the Creator and Universal Father of All?

Candidate. I do.

A. U. K. Do you obey the Universal Ordinance of God, in gaining your bread by the sweat of your brow?

Candidate. I do.

A. U. K. Are you willing to take a solemn vow binding you to S. O. and M. A.?

Candidate. I am.

A. U. K. Do you swear or affirm?

Candidate answers as to which way.

The M. W. has previously to their entering, formed the Assembly

in a circle around the centre, leaving an opening in front of the W. F. station, hands joined, arms crossed, right arm over left, palm down, left arm under right, palm up. The U. K. halts at the opening and says:

U. K. M. W., Mr. ——, has satisfactorily answered all inquiries and now desires to be covered with our shield and admitted to fellowship in this noble and holy Order.

After a short pause, and amid perfect silence, the M. W. says:

M. W. Place him at the centre and administer the vow.

The U. K. places the candidate and friends at the centre; places their left hands on the sacred Scriptures, fingers over, thumb under; directs the candidate to grasp the * of his friend, the friend that of the U. K., and the U. K. takes that of the candidate, the three forming a triangle over and around the Altar, and all pronounce the Vow. Affirmation, when preferred by the candidate, made in the same way.

I —— ——, do truly and solemnly swear, (or affirm) that I will never reveal, by word, act, art, or implication, positive or negative, to any person or persons whatsoever the name or object of this Order, the name, or person of any one a member thereof, its signs, mysteries, arts, privileges or benefits: now or hereafter, given to, or conferred on me, any words spoken, acts done, or objects intended; except in a legal, and authorized manner, or by special permission of the Order granted to me.

I do truly and solemnly promise strictly to obey all laws, regulations, solemn injunctions, and legal summons, that may be sent, said or handed to me.

I do truly and solemnly promise that I will to the best of my ability, defend the life, interest, reputation and family, of all true members of this Order, help and assist all employed, and unemployed, unfortunate, or distressed Brothers to procure employ, secure just remuneration, relieve their distress, and counsel others to aid

them, so that they and theirs may receive and enjoy the just fruits of their labor, and exercise of their art.

All this I swear (or affirm), without reservation or evasion, to do and perform until death, or honorable discharge, (an accepted resignation), and bind myself under the penalty of the scorn and neglect due to perjury, and violated honor, as one unworthy of trust or assistance. So help me God, and keep me steadfast unto the end. Amen.

All respond Amen.

The M. W. gives one tap to seat the Assembly. The U. K. will, after the Assembly is seated, proceed with the candidate to the Capital, and report to the M. W.

U. K. M. W., Mr. —— ——, has taken the solemn vow of S. O. and M. A.

M. W. That act has covered him with the shield of our Brotherhood. Proceed with him to the Base of the Sanctuary, there to receive the instructions of the W. F.

Arrived at the Base the U. K. introduces the candidate to the W. F. thus:

U. K. W. F., by permission of this Assembly of true *s and the command of the M. W., I present to you Mr. —— ——, for instruction.

W. F. In the beginning God ordained that man should labor, not as a curse, but as a blessing; not as a punishment, but as a means of development, physically, mentally, morally, and has set thereunto his seal of approval, in the rich increase and reward. By labor is brought forth the kindly fruits of the earth in rich abundance for our sustenance and comfort; by labor, (not exhaustive) is promoted health of body and strength of mind; and labor garners the priceless stores of wisdom and knowledge. It is the "Philosopher's Stone," everything it touches turns to gold. "Labor is noble and

holy." To glorify God in its exercise, to defend it from degradation, to divest it of the evils to body, mind and estate, which ignorance and greed have imposed; to rescue the toiler from the grasp of the selfish is a work worthy of the noblest and best of our race. Without your seeking, without even your knowledge, you have been selected from among your fellows, for that exalted purpose. Are you willing to accept the responsibility, and trusting in God and the support of sworn true *s, labor with what ability you possess, for the triumph of these principles among men?

The candidate answers. If affirmatively, the W. F. will say to the candidate and the U. K.:

W. F. We will now proceed with our friend to the M. W.

And accompanying them to the M. W. says:

W. F. M. W., I present Mr. —— ——, as a fitting and worthy person to receive the honor of fellowship with this noble and holy Order.

The M. W. taking his hand will say:

M. W. On behalf of the toiling millions of earth, I welcome you to this Sanctuary, dedicated to the service of God, by serving humanity. Open and public associations having failed, after a struggle of centuries, to protect or advance the interest of labor, we have lawfully constituted this Assembly. Hid from public view, covered by an impenetrable veil of secrecy (not to promote or shield wrong doing) but to shield ourselves and you, from persecution and wrong by men in our own sphere and calling, as well as others out of it, when we endeavor to secure the just reward of our toil. In using this power of organized effort and co-operation, we but imitate the example of capital heretofore set in numberless instances. In all the multifarious branches of trade,

capital has its combinations, and whether intended or not, it crushes the manly hopes of labor and tramples poor humanity in the dust. We mean no conflict with legitimate enterprise, no antagonism to necessary capital, but men in their haste and greed, blinded by self interest, overlook the interests of others, and sometimes even violate the rights of those they deem helpless. We mean to uphold the dignity of labor, to affirm the nobility of all who live in accordance with the ordinance of God, "in the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread." We mean to create a healthy public opinion on the subject of labor, (the only creator of values or capital) and the justice of its receiving a full, just share of the values or capital it has created. We shall with all our strength, support laws made to harmonize the interests of labor and capital, for labor alone gives life and value to capital, and also those laws which tend to lighten the exhaustiveness of toil. We shall use every lawful and honorable means to procure and retain employ for one another, coupled with just and fair remuneration, and should accident or misfortune befall one of our number, render such aid as lies within our power to give, without inquiring his country or his creed; and without approving of general strikes among artisans, yet should it become justly necessary to enjoin an oppressor, we will protect and aid any of our number who thereby may suffer loss, and as opportunity offers, extend a helping hand to all branches of honorable toil. Such is but an epitome of our objects. Your duties and obligations, your privileges and benefits you will learn as you mingle with, and become acquainted in, the noble and holy Order of the *s of *. . . [Form of instruction in signs, symbols, etc., omitted.]

2. FOUNDING CEREMONY

From a Manual, not dated. This ceremony was prepared by Stephens in the early seventies, and was used in manuscript form until 1878. In that year the references to G.A. and L.A. were added, indicating the General Assembly and Local Assembly. The Cypher was also made in 1878 by the grand secretary, Charles H. Litchman. At the first General Assembly, held at Reading, Pennsylvania, January 1-4, 1878, the Declaration of Principles of the Industrial Congress of 1874 (except sections 1, 13, and 14) was adopted as the Preamble to the Constitution of the Knights of Labor. This preamble was afterwards substituted in the Founding Ceremony for the religious features.

CYPHER

V	W	O	I	K
∀	M	D	F	T
Λ	N	C	Ǝ	⅃
ʌ	X	ᗡ	H	Y
		B	L	Z
		P	E	ʎ

The usual characters for numbers – 1, 2, 3, etc.

KEY TO CYPHER

A	E	I	O	U
B	F	J	P	V
C	G	K	Q	W
D	H	L	R	X
		M	S	Y
		N	T	Z

After becoming familiar with the cypher destroy this explanation.

With a full complement of D. A. officers at the stations, the W. A. (or M. W.) shall give IPW HVF and elevate the XVPA, all rising. Perfect quiet being had, the choir shall sing or the W. A. (or M. W.) and brothers shall read in responsive style the xxixth Psalm.

W. A. (or M. W.) The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof; the world, and they that dwell therein.

Brothers. For he hath founded it upon the seas, and established it upon the floods.

W. A. (or M. W.) Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord? or who shall stand in his holy place?

Brothers. He that hath clean hands, and a pure heart; who hath not lifted up his soul unto vanity nor sworn deceitfully.

W. A. (or M. W.) He shall receive the blessing from the Lord, and righteousness from the God of his salvation.

Brothers. This is the generation of them that seek him, that seek thy face, O Jacob.

(A short pause and solemn silence.)

Selah.

A pause of silence.

W. A. (or M. W.) Lift up your heads, O ye gates; and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors; and the King of glory shall come in.

Brothers. Who is this King of glory? The Lord strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle.

W. A. (or M. W.) Lift up your heads, O ye gates; even lift them up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in. . .

Brothers. Who is this King of glory? The Lord of hosts, He is the King of glory. Selah.

VOLUNTARY

The W. A. (or M. W.) shall advance to the centre, and facing the Capital shall say:

W. A. (or M. W.) Behold the tabernacle of God is with men. (Rev. xxi. 3.)

Response by all.

Brothers. And he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them, and be their God. (Rev. xxi. 3.)

Choir and Brothers.

All. Amen.

The W. A. (or M. W.) shall draft or describe the NHWVE LWVɑ IM CPONXEXIIA at the centre, and when done resume his station, give EXHWW HVFL, form the members of the new Assembly in a chain around the centre (the other officers standing at their stations) and say:

W. A. (or M. W.) Thus do I imprint the NHWVE LWVɑ IM CPONXEXIIA on the centre of the sanctuary, and thereby dedicate it to the service of God by serving Humanity. Brothers, look well upon that Sacred Symbol of "God and Humanity," and indelibly imprint it upon your memory. Henceforth, while memory lasts, or ever this Globe performs its annual cycles in obedience to the Laws of the Universe, so shall ye perform your obligations in obedience to the Laws of Universal Brotherhood.

Jubilate – Full Orchestra.

W. A. (or M. W.) Venerable Sage, How can the PIVɑW and XIɑZ IHΛWH of the CPONXEL IM ɑVVIH attain their objects.

V. S. By ever standing MIIE EI MIIE, XVPΛ OP XVPΛ, and BOPΛ ⅃OEX BOPΛ an unbroken circle of Harmony.

W. A. (or M. W.) Venerable Sage, How do the PIVɑW and XIɑZ IHΛWH of the CPONXEL IM ɑVVIH receive others into fellowship?

V. S. By standing MIIE EI MIIE, etc. (as above), an unbroken circle of Harmony and Friendship.

W. A. (or M. W.) Venerable Sage, how can the PIVDW and XIDZ IHAWH of the CPONXEL IM DVVIH preserve the A. K. and shield themselves and us from wrong and persecution?

V. S. By ever standing MIIE EI MIIE, etc. (as above), an unbroken circle of Harmony, Friendship, and Secrecy, an Impenetrable Shield.

To the members of the new Assembly:

W. A. (or M. W.) Ye have heard. Are you willing to thus secure yourselves and us from wrong and persecution?

They must all answer distinctly.

W. A. (or M. W.) Then repeat:

I (each giving his own name) do truly and solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will never reveal, by word, act, art or implication, positive or negative, to any person or persons whatsoever, except my Religious Confessor at the Confessional,[2] the name or object of this Order; the name or person of any one a member thereof; its signs, mysteries, arts, privileges, or benefits, now or hereafter given to or conferred on me; any words spoken, acts done, or objects intended, except in a legal and authorized manner, or by special permission of the Order granted to me. And should this Assembly lapse, decay, or cease to work, I will at all times and at every expense and trouble, return and deposit, and see safely and securely placed in the hands of the officers legally authorized to receive them, the Charter, A. K., books, papers, properties, moneys and valuables of this Assembly. So help me God, and keep me steadfast to the end. Amen.

[2] The words "except my Religious Confessor" were added by Thomas P. Crowne, and the words "at the Confessional" by T. V. Powderly, in February, 1878.— EDS.

To the Venerable Sage:

W. A. (or M. W.) Venerable Sage, how can the PIVDW and XIDZ IHAWH of the CPONXEL IM DVVIH provide for necessities and meet emergencies?

V. S. Ever and forever standing MIIE EI MIIE, etc. (as above), an unbroken circle of Harmony, Friendship, Secrecy, and Obedience to law and to the officers of their choice.

W. A. (or M. W.) To the members of the new Assembly:

W. A. (or M. W.) Ye have heard. Are you willing to obey the laws of CPONXEXIIA, and attend whenever and wherever solemnly enjoined and legally summoned?

They all answer distinctly.

W. A. (or M. W.) Then repeat:

I do truly and solemnly promise strictly to obey all laws, regulations, solemn injunctions, and legal summons that may be sent, said, or handed to me, and should I be summoned by the NHWVE LWVD IM CPONXEXIIA I will attend and bear my part without fear, favor, or expectation of reward, and should it be necessary to resist special pleading in any court or inquest whatsoever, I will remain mute at the hazard of imprisonment, or loss of goods, or employ, where the rights of CPONXEXIIA are involved. So help me God, and keep me steadfast to the end. Amen.

W. A. (or M. W.) Venerable Sage, How do the PIVDW and XIDZ IHAWH of the CPONXEL IM DVVIH receive the law of CPONXEXIIA?

V. S. Ever, for ever, and for evermore standing MIIE EI MIIE, etc. (as above), an unbroken circle of Harmony, Friendship, Secrecy, Obedience, and Mutual Assistance.

W. A. (or M. W.) Repeat the Great Law of CPONXEXIIA.

V. S. I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink; naked, and ye clothed me; I was sick, and ye visited me; I was in prison, and ye came unto me.

To the members of the new Assembly:

W. A. (or M. W.) Ye have heard. Are you willing to vow unswerving fidelity to that Great Law?

They all answer.

W. A. (or M. W.) Then repeat:

I do truly and solemnly promise that I will, to the best of my ability, defend the life, interest, reputation, and family of all true members of this Order; help and assist all employed and unemployed, unfortunate or distressed Brothers to procure employ, and secure just remuneration; relieve their distress, and counsel others to aid them, so that they and theirs may receive and enjoy the just fruits of their labor and exercise of their art; and even in prison will not desert a CPONXE IM ΩVVIH until CPONXEXIIA passes judgment and gives me permission. So help me God and keep me steadfast unto the end. Amen.

Amen by the Choir and Brothers with Organ accompaniment.

W. A. (or M. W.) Ye have faithfully and earnestly performed your part towards men. Let us MIΩA AΩWVP XVPAL over true and sincere XWVHEL, and VIL IKH XWVAL in reverence and adoration and ask God's Blessing.

The Venerable Sage leads in appropriate prayer, at the end of which the Amen is given in unison, with musical accompaniment.

W. A. (or M. W.) then says:

W. A. (or M. W.) WKHWCV.

V. S. O XVTW MIKPA OE.

W. A. (or M. W.) Then read from the records of eternity what you have here found.

V. S. In the —— year of the Independence of the United States of America (or beginning of whatever government the Assembly is located under), in the —— year of the nineteenth century of the Christian Era (or whatever era time is reckoned by in the country where the Assembly is founded), and the — day of the month —— and in the —— quarter of the —— year of CPONXEXIIA, in the (town or city of state, government, or dominion), was found in working order the (craft and name) Assembly, No. — of the PIVDW and XIDZ IHAWH of the CPONXEL IM DVVIH.

W. A. (or M. W.) Esto Perpetua!

V. S. May it be perpetual!

Choir and Brothers.

"Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia, praise ye the Lord." The W. A. (or M. W.) gives one tap and seats the Assembly.

The officers of the Assembly should now be installed in accordance with the Installation Ceremony.

[The Installation Ceremony follows.]

3. THE GREAT SEAL OF KNIGHTHOOD

The initials stood for Secrecy, Obedience and Mutual Assistance, the number in the center being that of the Local Assembly. When a special meeting of a Local Assembly was called it was done by imprinting the seal, in chalk, on sidewalk or wall with initials above given left off. The number of the Local Assembly would appear in the center and in place of the initials M.A., the hour of the meeting.

4. THE SPREAD OF SECRET ORDERS

Allan Pinkerton [*Strikers, Communists, Tramps and Detectives*, 88-89] writing in 1878, said:

"An organization called the Knights of Labor has recently attracted some attention in the coal regions of Pennsylvania. It is probably an amalgamation of the Molly Maguires and the Commune. In the vicinity of Scranton and Wilkesbarre, two-thirds of the workingmen belong to it. . . It is certainly true that the agitation in labor circles during the past few years, under leadership of agents of the Commune, has caused the outgrowth of numerous organizations, which, while working independently, have the same ultimate object in view, and propose to accomplish the same object, namely; the destruction of all government by the ballot, and if that shall fail, by force, when the proper opportunity arrives. Among these are the Ancient Order of United Workmen, The Junior Sons of '76, and the Universal Brotherhood. There are scores more, but these are samples of them all."

Pinkerton reprints [pages 90-95] the ritual of the Universal Brotherhood. John M. Davis, the editor of the *National Labor Tribune*, of Pittsburgh, from whose paper the following notices are taken, was the leading Western organizer of the Knights of Labor. Beginning in 1877, the *Tribune* added the five stars to the list of organizations for which it was the official organ. The rapid growth of this order after 1875 led to the first national delegate meeting, at Reading, Pennsylvania, January 1-4, 1878. At this meeting the General Assembly was founded and a constitution was framed. The delegates decided against publicity; but at the second regular session, in 1879, assemblies were permitted to make the name public after April 1, 1879.

National Labor Tribune, March 13, 1875, p. 1, col. 5.

The organization of the various trades into a secret labor organization has been conducted in the east to very satisfactory results. In Philadelphia all trades are united. They are able to turn out twenty thousand at twenty-four hours' notice without public notice. The principles of the organization are such as to allow all who toil in it, without reference to craft. It is the latest and most successful effort of labor to combine for its own defense. The obligation of secrecy gives it permanency and safety. The well known Archbishop Wood, of Philadelphia, gives it his sanction.

Nothing is required but that a man earns his living by labor, and desires to unite with his fellow men for

their common good. The organization has spread through several eastern cities, and sweeps in all who have any desire to see labor bettered.

We understand it is coming to Pittsburgh. If so, we heartily welcome it. In it, men of all crafts, and all shades of opinion and belief can meet, and stand on one common platform for one common purpose. In it all men come back to the first pure and simple principles and ideas of republican government as it was handed us by Hamilton, Washington and Adams, and all the colonial patriots. Our unions are grand and powerful agencies for the protection of our labor, but that is all. This union of unions, is designed to reach farther, and higher, and deeper, and take hold of and grapple with questions, and interests, and difficulties which our trades' unions cannot by its nature handle. We must make social machinery to suit the times. This proposed organization is not a talking union, but a working one. It is for action, and nothing else. It means business.

National Labor Tribune, April 24, 1875, p. 2, col. 2.

When men cannot assert their rights and resist a wrong perpetrated by an employer, for fear of discharge, it is time to devise some plan for the better protection of our labor.

When men are persecuted for unionism, when they are robbed of the true value of their labor, when they feel it unsafe to speak in their interest, it is time to look farther and deeper for some means of defense.

When monopolies become stronger than the law, when legislatures become the servants of monopolies, when corporations can successfully bid defiance to public good and trample on individual rights it is time for the people to come together to erect defenses for personal rights and public safety.

When the commercial interests combine to exact the

greatest share of profits of labor and give labor the least, even to the verge of starvation, when all attempts of labor to openly oppose and defeat the efforts of these combinations are made the pretext for still further oppression and persecution, it is time for the people to unite together for their individual and common safety. . . . These considerations have prompted men in all trades to have recourse to secret organization, not for wrong doing, but to bring about a better state of affairs.

We have noticed from time to time the growth of one of the most powerful of these orders. It is especially deserving of notice and confidence as being exclusively composed of workingmen. Its numbers and the harmony and unity produced entitle it to our attention. It is rapidly extending and will, ere long, number its hundreds of thousands, all guided by one common impulse, and for one common end. It numbers in its ranks our best men. In it all are equal. In it all are heard, respected and benefited. We learn that it is rapidly becoming a national organization. Cost of membership is little, to let in all good men. If ever an order turned bad men into good ones this one does. If there is a spark of manhood in a man this order will kindle it into a flame of genial warmth for all who toil. We are glad to see the spread of this order. Its objects are noble and holy. It makes every man in it purer and better. It widens his comprehension, lifts his conceptions, widens his understanding, deepens his affections and ennobles his whole nature. The order is moving westward. It has a solid footing in Pittsburgh, at which place officers are receiving applications for its extension further west. All enquiries receive proper attention, but from the nature of the order the replies cannot be as full as some would like. To such we say enter the holy of holies and know all.

VI

FARMERS' ORGANIZATIONS

1. ILLINOIS FARMERS, 1858

Periam, J. *The Groundswell* (Chicago, 1874), 204-206. In selecting and editing the documents of this chapter, we have been assisted by Dr. John Lee Coulter [3] of the Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C., and Dr. Solon Buck [4] of the University of Illinois. The following platform was adopted at Centralia, Illinois, on September 15, 1858.

We believe that the time has come when the producing classes should assert, not only their independence, but their supremacy; that non-producers can not be relied upon as guarantees of fairness; and that laws enacted and administered by lawyers are not a true standard of popular sentiment.

We believe that a general application to commerce of the principle that the majority should rule, would increase the income and diminish the outlay of producers, and, at the same time, elevate the standard of mercantile morality.

We believe that the producer of a commodity and the purchaser of it should, together, have more voice in fixing its price than he who simply carries it from one to the other.

We believe that the true method of guarding against commercial revulsions is to bring the producer and consumer as near together as possible, thus diminishing the alarming number and the more alarming power of non-producers.

We believe that in union there is strength, and that in

[3] See: Coulter, J. L. "Organization among the Farmers of the United States," *Yale Review*, November, 1909.

[4] See: Buck, Solon J. "Agricultural Organization in Illinois, 1870-1880," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, April, 1910.

union alone can the necessarily isolated condition of farmers be so strengthened as to enable them to cope, on equal terms, with men whose callings are, in their very nature, a permanent and self-created combination of interests.

We believe that system of commerce to be the best which transacts the most business, with the least tax on production, and which, instead of being a master, is merely a servant.

We believe that good prices are as necessary to the prosperity of farmers as good crops, and, in order to create such a power as to insure as much uniformity in prices as in products, farmers must keep out of debt; and that, in order to keep out of debt, they must pay for what they buy and exact the same from others.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES. These truths we hold to be self-evident, that, as production both precedes barter and employs more labor and capital, it is more worthy the care and attention of governments and of individuals; that in the honorable transaction of a legitimate business there is no necessity for secret cost-marks; that, in all well-regulated communities, there should be the smallest possible number of non-producers that is necessary to the welfare of the human race; that labor and capital employed in agriculture should receive as much reward as labor and capital employed in any other pursuit; that, as the exchanger is merely an agent between the producer and consumer, he should not have a chief voice in the establishment of prices; that the interests of agriculture and of commerce can only be considered as identical when each has an equal share in regulating barter; and that the principal road to honor and distinction, in this country, should lead through productive industry.

PLAN OF OPERATIONS. First. The formation of Farmers' Clubs wherever practical, the object of which shall be to produce concert of action on all matters connected with their interests.

Second. The establishment, as far as possible, of the ready pay system in all pecuniary transactions.

Third. The formation of wholesale purchasing and selling agencies in the great centers of commerce, so that producers may, in a great measure, have it in their power to save the profits of retailers.

Fourth. The organization of such a power as to insure the creation of a national agricultural bureau, the main object of which shall be an annual or semi-annual census of all our national products, and the collection and dissemination of valuable seeds, plants, and facts.

Fifth. The election of producers to all places of public trust and honor the general rule, and the election of non-producers the exception.

2. ILLINOIS FARMERS, 1869-1873

(a) THE FIRST BLOOMINGTON CONVENTION, 1869

(1) The Call.

Periam, J. *The Groundswell*, 225-227. This call was sent out in March, 1869, by H. C. Wheeler, a farmer, of Du Page County, Illinois, who was afterwards a member of the legislature. The meeting was held at Bloomington, Illinois, April 20, 1869.

TO THE FARMERS OF THE NORTHWEST: Will you permit a working farmer, whose entire interest is identified with yours, to address to you a word of warning?

A crisis in our affairs is approaching, and dangers threaten.

You are aware that the price of many of our leading staples is so low that they can not be transported to the markets of Europe, or even to our own seaboard, and leave a margin for profits, by reason of the excessive rates of transportation.

During the war but little attention was given to the great increase in the price of freights, as the price of produce was proportionately high; but we look in vain for any abatement, now that we are obliged to accept less than half the former prices for much that we raise.

We look in vain for any diminution in the carrying rates, to correspond with the rapidly-declining prices of the means of living, and of materials for constructing boats, cars, engines, and track; but, on the other hand, we see a total ignoring of that rule of reciprocity between the carrying and producing interests which prevails in every other department of trade and commerce.

Does it not behoove us, then, to inquire earnestly how long we can stand this descending scale on the one

hand, and the ascending on the other, and which party must inevitably and speedily go to the wall?

I by no means counsel hostility to the carrying interest – it is one of the producer's best friends; but, like the fire that cooks our food and warms our dwelling, it may also become the hardest of masters. The fire fiend laughs as he escapes from our control, and in an hour licks up and sweeps away the accumulations of years of toil.

As we cherish the fire fiend, so we welcome the clangor of the carrier fiend as he approaches our dwellings, opening up communication with the busy marts of trade. But it needs no great stretch of imagination to hear also the cach! cach! cachinations of the carrier fiend as he speeds beyond our reach, and leaving no alternative but compliance with his exorbitant demands.

Many of us are not aware of the gigantic proportions the carrying interest is assuming. Less than forty years since the first railroad fire was kindled on this continent, but which now, like a mighty conflagration, is crackling and roaring over every prairie and through every mountain gorge. The first year produced fifteen miles; the last, five thousand.

On the same mammoth scale goes on the work of organization and direction. By the use of almost unlimited means, it enlists in its service the finest talents of the land as officers, attorneys, agents, and lobbyists; gives free passes and splendid entertainments to the representatives of the people; and even transports whole legislatures into exceeding high mountains, showing them the kingdoms of the world, with lavish promises of reward for fealty and support: witness its land grants and franchises secured from the powers that be, such as no similar interest ever acquired even in the Old World.

In Europe every corporation returns its franchises to the Crown within a specified time, while here their titles are more secure than the farmers' warranty deeds.

Do you say that you are out of debt, and can stop producing when it does not pay? I tell you, my friends, that the carrying interest, with its present momentum unchecked, will soon acquire the power to tax your unincumbered possessions into leaseholds, and you and me into tenants at will.

I fancy I hear the response: "These things are so, but what can we do?" Rather, my friends, what can we not do? What power can withstand the combined and concentrated force of the producing interest of this Republic? But what avails our strength if, like Polyphemus in the fable, we are unable to use it for want of eyesight; or, like a mighty army without discipline, every man fighting on his own hook; or, worse, reposing in fancied security while Delilahs of the enemy have well nigh shorn away the last lock of strength? In this respect we constitute a solitary exception, every other interest having long since protected itself by union and organization.

As a measure calculated to bring all interested, as it were, within speaking distance, and as a stepping stone to an efficient organization, I propose that the farmers of the great north-west concentrate their efforts, power, and means, as the great transportation companies have done theirs, and accomplish something, instead of frittering away their efforts in doing nothing.

And, to this end, I suggest a convention of those opposed to the present tendency to monopoly and extortionate charges by our transportation companies, to meet at Bloomington, Illinois, on the twentieth day of April next, for the purpose of discussion, and the appointment

of a committee to raise funds to be expended in the employment of the highest order of legal talent, to put in form of report and argument an exposition of the rights, wrongs, interests, and injuries (with their remedies) of the producing masses of the northwest, and lay it before the authorities of each state and of the general government. Congress is now in session, and the constitutional convention of this state will then again be convened. Farmers, now is the time for action!

(2) The Resolutions.
Periam, J. *The Groundswell*, 229-230.

This Convention declares, First: That the present rates of taxation and transportation are unreasonable and oppressive, and ought to be reduced.

Second: That our legal rights to transportation and market ought to be clearly set forth and defined.

Third: That if there be any legal remedy under existing laws for the wrongs we suffer, such remedy ought to be ascertained and enforced.

Fourth: That, if there be no such remedy, measures should be taken to secure one by appropriate legislation.

Fifth: That statistics should be collected and published to show the relation of north-western products to those of the rest of the country.

Sixth: That nothing can be accomplished for the enforcement of our rights, and the redress of our wrongs, without an efficient organization on the well-known principles that give the great corporations such tremendous power.

Seventh: That, with honest pay for honest labor, and compensation commensurate with great service, we can secure the assistance and support of the highest order of learning, ability, and skill.

Eighth: That this Convention should appoint a com-

missioner of agricultural and carrying statistics, to prepare and publish, with the aid of eminent counsel, a report of the products of the north-west, the rights to market and transportation, and the remedies available for existing wrongs, the expenses thereof to be defrayed by subscription price for such report.

(b) ILLINOIS STATE FARMERS' ASSOCIATION, 1873

(1) Preliminary Convention, Kewanee — Resolutions.

Periam, J. *The Groundswell*, 236, 237. The dates of the convention were October 16 and 17, 1872. This association was launched as a permanent organization January 15, 1873, at the second Bloomington convention. Article II of the constitution shows the purpose of the association to be "the promotion of the moral, intellectual, social, and pecuniary welfare of the farmers of Illinois."

RESOLVED, that the agricultural interests of this country are the primary source of its growth, wealth, and prosperity; and that the protection and development of these are essential to the prosperity of every related industry, and also of every other vocation or business.

RESOLVED, that the immediate objects and purposes of the convention should be to devise some means, or system of means, to cheapen the process of production, and lessen the expense of transportation.

RESOLVED, that the success of co-operative effort, as illustrated in the accumulation of capital for the carrying forward of immense business enterprises; in the combination of workingmen for the increase of wages, or the restriction of the hours of labor; in the formation of rings for controlling the price of agricultural or manufactured products, and for "bulling" or "bearing" the markets of every kind; and in the thorough and efficient organization of political parties for partisan ends, should teach the farmer the lesson, both of its efficiency and its adaptation to the particular needs, if applied with intelligence and wisdom.

RESOLVED, that it is the duty of Farmers' Clubs, and similar organizations, to put forth their best efforts for extending and multiplying these organizations, until they shall compass the industrial interest of the entire west.

RESOLVED, that this convention regards with favor the growth and prosperity of the organization called Patrons of Husbandry, and accept the evidences of its benefits and efficiency with hopeful expectations of its future usefulness.

RESOLVED, that the destruction of Canada thistles and noxious weeds is a matter of vital importance to the agricultural interests of the west; and this convention would commend the action of the legislature of Illinois in its efforts to accomplish this object.

RESOLVED, that the strength or weakness of the Railroad Law, so-called, should be determined by its thorough trial and enforcement; and this convention would demand additional legislation on the subject, if required.

RESOLVED, that this convention appoint a State Central Committee of one, and a committee of one from each county, whose duties shall be to act as a medium of communication between the various farmers' organizations.

RESOLVED, that the convention return a vote of thanks to the citizens of Kewanee and the Wethersfield Farmers' Club, for the very generous hospitality extended to the members of this convention; and that especial thanks are due the aforesaid Club for inaugurating and carrying to so successful an issue this convention.

(2) Call for the Second Bloomington Convention.
Periam, J. *The Groundswell*, 243, 244.

FARMERS' CONVENTION. "Equal and exact justice to all; special privileges to none." The undersigned, the

Executive Committee appointed by the convention of delegates from Farmers' Clubs, held at Kewanee, Oct. 16th and 17th, 1872, in pursuance of the duties assigned them, do hereby invite each Farmers' Club, Grange, or other agricultural, horticultural, or industrial association of the State of Illinois, to send delegates for every thirty-three members, and fraction in excess of that number (provided, that every organization shall be entitled to at least one delegate), to an Illinois Farmers' State Convention, to be held in the City of Bloomington, Wednesday and Thursday, Jan. 15 and 16, 1873, commencing at 9 a.m. on Wednesday, with three sessions each day – at 9 a.m., 2 p.m., and 7 p.m.

The purpose of said convention is to perfect the organization made at Kewanee, by the formation of a State Farmers' Association for said delegates, adoption of a constitution, and for securing the organization and representation of associations in every county, and, if possible, in every township, of the state; to discuss and insist upon reform in railway transportation, the sale of agricultural implements, the sale of farm products by commission merchants, and such other abuses as have grown up in our midst, and are now taxing and impoverishing producers and consumers; and to transact such other business as may be brought before the Convention.

[L. F. Ross, John Prickett, Wm. Beem, Committee (page 237).]

(3) Resolutions, Second Bloomington Convention, 1873.
Periam, J. *The Groundswell*, 258-262.

[By Committee on Resolutions] Whereas, the constitution of Illinois requires the legislature to pass laws to correct abuses and prevent unjust discrimination and extortion by railroads; and, whereas, the legislature has

complied with this provision of the constitution; and, whereas, the railroads in the State of Illinois stand in open defiance of the laws, by charging rates greatly in excess of what the laws allow, and by unjust discriminations and extortions; and, whereas, these exactions and extortions bear most heavily upon the producing classes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that this convention of farmers and producers insist upon the enforcement of these laws.

RESOLVED, that in obedience to the universal law that the creature is not above the creator, we declare our unalterable conviction that all corporations are subject to regulation by law.

RESOLVED, that we call upon every department of the state government—the executive, legislative, and judicial—in their joint and several capacities, to execute the constitution and laws now in force; and if amendments or new laws are needed to enforce obedience, we call for their speedy enactment.

RESOLVED, that cheap transportation is of vital interest to the west, and that every combination to increase the price above what is just and legitimate is a conspiracy against the rights of the people, and a robbery which we loudly protest against.

RESOLVED, that in the efforts of our officers to execute the laws in question, no narrow policy should be pursued by the legislature, but that the magnitude of the matter at stake demands that ample appropriations be made, to enable those in charge of the object to act with vigor and effect.

RESOLVED, that the power of this, and all local organizations, should be wielded at the ballot-box by the election to all offices, from highest to lowest—legislative, executive, and judicial—of such, and only such, persons as

sympathize with us in this movement, and believe, as we do, that there is a rightful remedy for this wrong, and that it can and must be enforced; and to this end we pledge our votes at all elections where they will have a bearing against the wrong in question.

RESOLVED, that the late decision in the McLean County Circuit Court, sustaining the constitutionality of our railroad law, is sound, and we hail it with satisfaction.

RESOLVED, that persons traveling upon the railroads of the state, having tendered to the conductor the legal fare, are in line of their duty, and as they have complied with all their legal obligations, are entitled to the protection of the civil power of the state; and any conductor or other officers or employee of the road attempting to disturb any such person, or eject him from the cars, are violators of the peace and dignity of the state, and should be punished by exemplary penalties. . .

[Mr. Carter, from the Committee on Resolutions, submitted a report, as follows:]

RESOLVED, that we recommend to our legislature the enactment of a law making it a misdemeanor for any county or state officer to accept a free pass from any railroad, while holding office.

RESOLVED, that we view with favor the opening of feasible water communications, and all propositions to so improve and enlarge the great water line of the lakes and the St. Lawrence as to practically bring tide water to Chicago; and, for this purpose, completing the Illinois river improvement, and the extension of the canal to Rock Island, so as to connect the vast interior river system with the ocean commerce at our great commercial city, meet our approbation.

RESOLVED, that it is the sense of this convention that, in the appointment of railroad and warehouse commis-

sioners, at least one of the members of that commission should be a man whose business interests, sympathies, and knowledge of the experiences and wants of the farmer class, should fairly constitute him a representative man of that class, and who shall be so recommended by them.

RESOLVED, that in order to accomplish the ends arrived at by this convention, we earnestly recommend the organization of the farmers throughout the state into clubs, and granges of Patrons of Husbandry.

[The following resolution was offered and adopted:]

RESOLVED, that this convention appoint Capt. J. H. Rowell and R. W. Benjamin to proceed to our legislature, and procure an act condemning all railroads that are running in violation of the law, and we further recommend that a commission be appointed to take charge of such road or roads, and run them in compliance with the law.

RESOLVED, that this convention hails with joy and pleasure the late action taken in Congress by representatives Shellabarger, of Ohio, and Hawley, of Illinois, as the harbinger of better things to come.

[The following miscellaneous resolutions were offered, and referred to the committee on resolutions:]

RESOLVED, that the secretary of this convention be instructed to forward to Hons. Shellabarger, of Ohio, and Hawley, of Illinois, and to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, copies of the resolutions of this convention, with request that they be laid before the respective houses.

RESOLVED, that the names of the persons composing the meeting at Kewanee, on the 15th and 16th of October, 1872, be inscribed on a suitable tablet, for permanent preservation by this society.

RESOLVED, that in view of the power of the press, this convention urge upon the Farmers' Clubs over this state, the great importance of reporting their proceedings to their local papers, and, so far as practicable, to the papers having a state circulation.

RESOLVED, that the legislature of this state be requested to instruct our senators, and request our representatives in Congress, in view of the depressed condition of the agricultural interests of this state and all others dependent thereon, except that of railway transactions, to insist upon the utmost economy in appropriations and frugality in expenditure of national moneys consonant with the necessities of the country.

RESOLVED, that we are in favor of removing the duties on iron, lumber, and salt.

RESOLVED, that farmers buy no implements of those manufacturers or their agents who have entered into any conspiracy agreeing not to sell their implements to farmer's associations.

RESOLVED, that this convention respectfully call the attention of the General Assembly to the bill introduced by Senator Vaughn, of Knox County, in 1871, affixing reasonable maximum rates of freights on railroads, and that we urge the immediate passage of that or some similar bill. . .

(4) Springfield Convention, April 2, 1873.
Periam, J. *The Groundswell*, 286-289.

. . . The committee appointed to draft resolutions submitted the following:

[1] RESOLVED, by the farmers of Illinois in mass meeting assembled, that all chartered monopolies, not regulated and controlled by law, have proved in that respect detrimental to the public prosperity, corrupting in their management, and dangerous to republican institutions.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,

Land Reform Association,

The primary objects of this Association are to enforce upon our National Congress the urgent and imperative necessity of reserving the remainder of the public domain for the exclusive use of actual settlers.

"The mass of mankind has not been born with saddles on their back, nor a favored few booted and spurred, ready to ride them legitimately by the grace of God."—*Jefferson's Last Letter*

"The land shall not be sold forever."—*Moses*,

"There is no foundation in nature why a set of words upon parchment should convey the dominion of land."—*Blackstone*.

"We again plant ourselves upon the rock of that irresistible natural law, with whose power we come to claim for our fellow-beings free access to a living portion of that earth which our Great Father has created."

~~All Correspondence will be addressed to the Committee on Petitions.~~

WM. ROWE, HENRY BEENY, J. K. INGALLS.

Office 510 PEARL STREET, NEW YORK CITY. Jan 27th 1873

LETTER-HEAD OF NATIONAL LAND REFORM ASSOCIATION, IN 1873

[2] RESOLVED, that the railways of the world, except in those countries where they have been held under the strict regulation and supervision of the government, have proved themselves arbitrary, extortionate, and as opposed to free institutions and free commerce between states as were the feudal barons of the middle ages.

[3] RESOLVED, that we hold, declare, and resolve that this despotism, which defies our laws, plunders our shippers, impoverishes our people, and corrupts our government, shall be subdued and made to subserve the public interest at whatever cost.

[4] RESOLVED, that we believe the state did not and could not confer any of its sovereign power upon any corporation, and that now is the most favorable time to settle the question, so that it may never be hereafter misunderstood that a state can not create a corporation it can not thereafter control.

[5] RESOLVED, that in view of the present extortions, we look with alarm upon the future of an interest which can combine in the hands of a few men a capital of nearly $250,000,000, and we believe it essential to the prosperity of all classes that this contest continue until these corporations acknowledge the supremacy of law.

[6] RESOLVED, that we regard it as the undoubted power, and the imperative duty of the legislature, to pass laws fixing reasonable maximum rates for freight and passengers, without classification of roads, and that we urge upon our General Assembly the passage of such laws.

[7] RESOLVED, that the existing statute, providing for a classification of railroads with a view to adjusting a tariff of charges according to the gross amount of earnings, is a delusion and a snare, and is so framed that the railroads are able to classify themselves, and that it ought to be carefully modified or repealed.

[8] RESOLVED, that inasmuch as the Supreme Court has clearly pointed out the way to reach unjust discriminations made by the railroads of this state, we can see no reason for delay on the part of the legislature in enacting the necessary laws on the subject, and we urge immediate action thereon.

[9] RESOLVED, that we urge the passage of a bill enforcing the principle that railroads are public highways, and requiring railroads to make connections with all roads whose tracks meet or cross their own, and to receive and transmit cars and trains offered over their roads at reasonable maximum rates, whether offered at such crossings, or at stations along their roads, and empowering the making of connections by municipal corporations for that purpose, and for the public use.

[10] RESOLVED, that we heartily indorse the action of the General Assembly looking to the enforcement of the performance of their duties by monopolies as common carriers; and that, in addition thereto, we believe that railroads should be required to carry all freight and passengers offered from the country through which they pass, and not permitted to limit the amount of their business and destroy its natural increase.

[11] RESOLVED, that the constitution and laws of Illinois are as binding upon railroad corporations as upon the citizens, and that the state must require obedience to the law from all alike, whether the same be deemed constitutional or not by the parties affected, until repealed or declared unconstitutional.

[12] RESOLVED, that we indorse most fully the action of those who tender legal rates of fare upon the railroads, and refuse to pay more; and that it is the duty of the legislature to provide by law for the defense by the State of Illinois of suits commenced, or that hereafter may be

commenced, by railroad companies against individuals who have in good faith insisted, or hereafter may insist, upon the right to ride on railroads at legal rates.

[13] RESOLVED, that the presentation of railroad passes to our legislators, whatever may be the spirit and intent with which they are accepted, are demoralizing in their influence; and we look to our legislature, now in session, to rise above personal considerations of pecuniary interest or convenience, and to pass a law making it a misdemeanor for any Senator, or other state or county officers, to accept any railroad pass, knowing, as we do, that the people look upon the acceptance of these passes with decided and almost universal disapprobation. . .

WHEREAS, the constitution of 1848, Article X, prohibits the legislature from granting special railroad charters in the following words: "And corporations not possessing banking powers or privileges, may be formed under general law, but shall not be created by special acts, except for municipal purposes; and in cases where, in the judgment of the General Assembly, the objects of the corporation can not be attained under general laws," therefore,

[14] RESOLVED, that it is extremely doubtful whether any railroad charter granted since April 1, 1848, by the legislature of Illinois is of any validity, and that the vested rights of railroad monopolies in this state exist only by assumption of the monopolies and the sufferance of the people. . .

WHEREAS, the constitution of 1870, Article XI, Section 13, prohibits any railroad company from issuing watered stock, in these words: "No railroad corporation shall issue any stock or bonds except for money, labor, or property actually received and applied to the purposes for which such corporation was created; and

all stock, dividends, and other fictitious increase of the capital, stock, or indebtedness of any such corporation shall be void. The capital stock of no railroad corporation shall be increased for any purpose, except upon giving sixty days' public notice in such manner as may be provided by law;" and, whereas, this article of the constitution has probably been violated by nearly all the railroad companies in the state; therefore,

[15] RESOLVED, that it is the duty of the railroad commissioners to look carefully into this matter, and to commence proceedings in all clear cases by *quo warranto*, or otherwise, against all railroad companies which have disregarded this important provision of the organic law of the state.

[16] RESOLVED, that we regard the improvement of the Illinois River as not sectional, but of great importance; and we request the members of the House of Representatives to vote for the bill now pending for the improvement of that river, as it will give our state absolutely into the hands of the people.

[17] RESOLVED, that we demand of Congress a repeal of all laws preventing the competition of small vessels, which may choose to engage in the carrying trade on our inland lakes between ports in the United States, without regard to nationality.

[18] RESOLVED, that we are in favor of the immediate repeal of the protective duties on iron, steel, lumber, and all materials which enter into the construction of railroad cars, steamships, sailing vessels, agricultural implements, etc., and that we urge upon Congress immediate action for this purpose, that cheap railroads and cheap ships are necessary to cheap freights; and that we invite the railroad companies to co-operate with us to that end.

[The first twelve resolutions were passed unanimously, as also were numbers fourteen, fifteen, and seventeen. Number thirteen was passed only after a heated debate. A clause was added which provided that officers should receive no pay except during the time actually employed. Number sixteen was laid on the table amid much excitement. Number eighteen was objected to as being a side issue, but was declared carried by the chair. Other resolutions adopted were: requesting the legislature to pass a railroad law before it adjourned; stating that the practice of legislators voting on questions in which they were directly interested, was contrary to public morals; stating that one of the necessary measures of railroad reform was (a) that the laws which made the stocks of railroad corporations personal property, be repealed, and (b) that the law should be so amended as to withdraw such stock from speculation and to give to it the permanency and certainty of ownership of the railroads themselves; and demanding that railroads be no longer assessed taxes at less than one-tenth of their value; recommending that farmers keep a farm expense account, so that the actual cost of production may be ascertained and made public.]

(5) Princeton Convention, June, 1873 – Resolutions.
Periam, J. *The Groundswell*, 313, 314.

RESOLVED, that the provisions of the constitution of 1870, of the State of Illinois, in regard to railroads, are, equally with the other provisions of the constitution, the supreme law of the state, and our legislature should provide the necessary legislation to execute such provisions, and our courts should sustain and adopt the same.

RESOLVED, that the charters of the railroads in this state are not contracts in the sense that they are paramount to the constitution and laws of this state, and that

the provisions of the constitution of the state in regard to railroads, and necessary legislation to enforce the same, are not repugnant to the constitution of the United States.

RESOLVED, that the railroads in this state are public highways, and their operators common carriers, and the General Assembly, as required by the constitution of this state, should pass laws establishing reasonable maximum rates of charge for the transportation of passengers and freight on the different railroads in this state, and should also pass laws to correct abuses and to define and prevent extortion in the rate of freight and passenger tariffs on such roads; and such legislation should be sustained and enforced by the judiciary of the state.

RESOLVED, that we will support no man for office who is not in accordance with the sentiments of these resolutions; and that we recommend to the anti-monopolists of this state to nominate such candidates for Supreme and Circuit Judges as are pledged to sustain the constitution, and laws of this state in accordance therewith.

3. THE KANSAS FARMERS' CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATION, 1873

Periam, J. *The Groundswell*, 274-279. The farmers of Kansas were actively engaged in agitation and demands for improvement during this period. On March 26, 1873, a large convention was held at Topeka, at which the Farmers' Coöperative Association of the State of Kansas was organized. The following preamble was adopted, which, with Article II of the Constitution, will show the purpose of the convention.

PREAMBLE. As a means of obtaining a more perfect uniformity of action among the farmers of the state, in order that we may secure a more equal division of the profits arising from the different vocations of life, of diminishing the unreasonable transportation tariff now charged by railroad companies, and of breaking down monopolies of every character, we, whose names are hereto subscribed, do pledge ourselves to sustain the following constitution and by-laws: . . .

ARTICLE II. The objects of this association shall be the collection of statistics relative to the products of the state, their amount, cost, and value; to assist the farmers in securing just compensation for their labor; to co-operate with similar organizations in other states in procuring cheap transportation and remunerative prices for surplus products, and act generally in the interest of the producing class.

[The following three resolutions also show the attitude of the delegates:]

RESOLVED, that the act relating to the collection of statistics and industries, approved March 6, 1873, and an act relating to District and County Agricultural Societies and Farmers' Clubs, approved March 6, 1873,

meet with the approval of this convention, so far as they go in the accomplishment of the objects sought by this convention.

RESOLVED, that the Farmers' Co-operative Association of the State of Kansas co-operate with the State Board of Agriculture, and the State organization of the Patrons of Husbandry. . .

RESOLVED, that it is the sense of this convention that the farmers of Kansas, while they are ready to denounce in unmeasured terms every monopoly that strikes at their interests in the shape of robbery and oppression, are equally ready to admit any and all wrongs and errors of their own that have brought them into the dilemma which all complain of to-day.

[Various resolutions were submitted and referred to a committee, which, subsequently, reported the following:]

RESOLVED, that organization is the great want of the producing classes at the present time, and we recommend every farmer in the state to become a member of some Farmers' Club, Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry, or other local organization.

RESOLVED, that the taxes assessed and charged upon the people, both by national, state, and local governments, are oppressive and unjust, and vast sums of money are collected far beyond the needs of an economical administration of government.

RESOLVED, that we respectfully request our senators and representatives in Congress to vote for, and secure, an amendment to the tariff laws of the United States, so that salt and lumber shall be placed on the free list, and that there shall be made a material reduction of the duty on iron, and that such articles as do not pay the cost of collection be also placed on the free list.

RESOLVED, that we demand that the legislature of our state shall pass a law limiting railroad freight and fares to a just and fair sum, and that unjust discriminations against local freights be prohibited.

RESOLVED, that the act passed by the last legislature, exempting bonds, notes, mortgages, and judgments from taxation, is unjust, oppressive, and a palpable violation of our state constitution, and we call upon all assessors and the county boards to see that said securities are taxed at their fair value. . .

[By Mr. Lines, as substitute for resolution on railroad freights:]

That we earnestly request the legislature of our state, at its next session, to enact a law regulating freights and fares upon our railroads upon a basis of justice; and that we further request our members in Congress to urge the favorable action of that body, where the same power exists beyond all doubt, to the same end, and, if need be, to construct national highways at the expense of the government. [Adopted.]

4. THE SECOND NATIONAL AGRICULTURAL CONGRESS, 1873

Periam, J. *The Groundswell*, 335-337. Meanwhile other farmers' organizations in other states were taking action similar to that in Illinois and Kansas. The following resolutions adopted by the Second National Agricultural Congress held at Indianapolis, May 28, 1873, will show their attitude.

[By Committee on the Railway System] WHEREAS, we recognize the railways of the country as an effectual means of developing its agricultural resources, and as having an interest, common and inseparable, with the country through which they pass; and, whereas, we have in times past fostered and aided them by liberal charters and concessions, made by public and private parties, and still desire to encourage further development of the railway system; therefore,

RESOLVED, that a fair degree of reciprocity would suggest that corporations having a common interest and public aid, should, in their turn, endeavor to subserve the interest of the country through which they pass, by charging fair rates of freights, and by the equitable and just treatment of all localities along their lines.

RESOLVED, that, on the contrary, railroad corporations in many instances have been exorbitant in their charges, have discriminated unjustly between localities, and have failed to respond to the generous grants of powers and moneys that have been given them by our national and state governments.

RESOLVED, that the system adopted and now practiced in the building of railroads, viz: the soliciting of stock subscriptions from individuals, corporations, and counties, and after receiving these subsidies to depress the

value of said stock by forcing it upon the market and depreciating its value to such an extent as to enable a few speculators to secure control of the road, thereby depriving those who aid in its construction of all voice in its management; increasing the cost four or five times above the amount it would have cost if those managing it in the outset had had the foresight to have the funds on hand at the start to build and equip said road; then requiring the producer and shipper to pay dividends upon the fictitious cost by charging excessive freight and passenger tariffs—operates most injuriously to the best interests of the farming class, and calls loudly for reform and restraint by adequate legislation.

RESOLVED, that we recommend all farmers to withhold their voices and their aid from railway corporations, unless it be fully conceded and agreed that corporations so aided are subject to regulation by the power incorporating them, and will not, after receiving the advantages conferred by the public authority, claim the immunities of a private corporation.

RESOLVED, that we indorse and will support the doctrine promulgated by some of our courts, that a railway corporation in receiving and exercising the state's right of eminent domain, and receiving aid raised by taxation from public authorities has thereby accepted and admitted itself to be a corporation with a public function, and subject to the power from which it has received its charter, in the limitation of its rates.

RESOLVED, that a railway being practically a monopoly, controlling the transportation of nearly all the country through which it passes; and that as competition, except at a few points, can not be relied upon to fix rates, therefore it becomes the duty of the state to fix reasonable maximum rates, affording a fair remunera-

tion to the transporter, and without being an onerous charge to the producer and consumer.

RESOLVED, that, inasmuch as Belgium has succeeded in regulating the rates upon railways by government lines, we ask an investigation of the proposition to control the rates upon existing railways by trunk lines built and controlled by the states authorities and run at fixed uniform and cheap rates.

RESOLVED, that the consolidation of parallel lines of railway is contrary to public policy, and should be prohibited by law.

RESOLVED, that wherever a railway corporation owns or controls a line or lines in two or more states, it is the right and duty of the general government to regulate the rates of freight and fare upon such lines, under the constitutional power to regulate commerce between the states.

RESOLVED, that we commend the thorough organization of the farmers of the country in local, county, and state organizations, for the purpose of reforming the great abuses and dealing out equal and exact justice to all men.

5. FARMERS' AND PRODUCERS' CONVENTION, NEW YORK, 1873

Periam, J. *The Groundswell*, 320-322. During this time meetings were also being held in the Eastern States, to which many western delegates were invited. The second of these was held in New York, May 6, 1873, and adopted the resolutions below. Before the New York meeting adjourned, a committee with Hon. Josiah Quincy of Boston as chairman was appointed to draft an address to the people. This was done in November, and a meeting was called for January 14, 1874, in Washington, when all complaints were brought before Congress. This meeting is known as "The American Cheap Transportation Convention."

WHEREAS, the productive industries of the United States – plantation and farm, mine and factory, commercial and mercantile – are not only the sources of all our national and individual wealth, but also elements on which our very national and individual existence depend; and

WHEREAS, all national products are fruits of labor and capital, and as neither labor nor capital will continue actively employed without an equivalent measurably just; and,

WHEREAS, the great national industries are only sustained and prospered by the interchange of products of one section of the country for those of another; and,

WHEREAS, the existing rates of transportation for the varied products of the Union from one part of the country to another, and to foreign countries, as well as the transit cost of commodities required in exchange, are in many instances injurious, and to certain interests absolutely destructive, arising in part at least from an insufficiency of avenues; and,

WHEREAS, the great national want of the nation to-

day is relief from the present rates of transit upon American products; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, 1. That it is the duty of the hour, and the mission of this association, to obtain from Congress, and the different state legislatures such legislation as may be necessary to control and limit by law, within proper constitutional and legitimate limits, rates and charges of existing lines of transportation; to increase, where practicable, the capacity of our water-ways, and to aid such new avenues, both water and rail, as our immensely increasing internal commerce demands, so that the producer may be justly rewarded for his honest toil, the consumers have cheap products, and our almost limitless surplus find foreign markets at rates to compete with the world.

2. That cheap transportation, both of persons and property, is most conducive to free movement of the people; that the widest interchange and consumption of the produce of the different parts of the Union is essential to the welfare and prosperity of the country.

3. That constant and frequent association of the inhabitants of remote parts of the United States is not only desirable, but necessary, for the maintenance of a homogeneous and harmonious population within the vast area of our territory.

4. That the different parts of the country also demand the freest possible interchange of industrial products of the varied climates and industries of the United States, so that breadstuffs, textile fabrics, lumber, iron, sugar, and various other products, local in their production but general in their consumption, may all reach the consumer at the least practicable cost for transportation; and that an arbitrary and unnecessary tax levied by the transporter over and above a fair remuneration

for his investment is a burden upon the producer and consumer that it is the part of wise statesmanship to remove.

5. That certain leading railway corporations of the country, although chartered to subserve the public welfare, and endowed with the right of eminent domain solely for that purpose, have proved themselves practically monopolists, and become the tools of avaricious and unscrupulous capitalists, to be used to plunder the public, enrich themselves, and impoverish the country through which they run.

6. That many of the railway corporations have not only disregarded public convenience and prosperity, but have oppressed citizens, bribed our legislatures, and defied our executives and judges, and stand today the most menacing danger to American liberty and to republican government.

7. That the present system of railway management having failed to meet the just expectations and demands of a long-suffering people, it must be radically reformed and controlled by the strong hand of the law, both state and national, and railway corporations compelled to perform their proper functions as servants and not masters of the people.

8. That, to this end, we invoke the aid of all fair-minded men in all the states of the Union in excluding from the halls of legislation, from our executive offices, and from the bench, all railway officials, railway attorneys, or other hirelings who prostitute public office to the base uses of private gain.

9. That, leaving different sections and interests that desire cheap transportation to work out the problem in such manner as they may deem best, we earnestly invoke their careful consideration, their energetic and their res-

olute will in regulating and controlling rates of transportation, and in giving remunerative wages to the producer and cheap products to the consumer, untaxed by unearned charges for their carriage.

10. That we invite the people of the various states to organize subsidiary associations, state, county, and town, to co-operate with the national associations. The power to accomplish the purposes desired rests absolutely with the suffering millions; and relief is within their reach and control. United action and the near future will give, as certain as its need for all time and the good of all, the true solution of the problem of cheap transportation. [Adopted unanimously.]

6. PATRONS OF HUSBANDRY

(a) OUTLINE OF THE ORDER

Kelley, O. H. *Patrons of Husbandry* (Philadelphia, 1875), 17-20. August, 1867.

WILLIAM SAUNDERS, ESQ.

DEAR SIR: Notwithstanding a large majority of the people of this country are directly engaged in agriculture, I regret to say in my travels north and south, east and west, I find there is a great lack of interest on the part of farmers – a visible want of energy on their part to favor progressive agriculture. Where we find one who reads agricultural books and papers, there are ten or more who consider "book farming", as they term it, nonsense. This average is too small. In one of our western states, after making a general investigation, I found the circulation of purely agricultural papers was but one to every two hundred and thirty inhabitants; and libraries of fifty bound volumes were exceptions, yet but very few who could not read and write. Their system of farming was the same as that handed down by generations gone by, with the exception that economy prompted them to use reaping and threshing machines. Of the science of agriculture, the natural laws that govern the growth of plants and kindred subjects of pleasing and vital interest to farmers, when once they turn their attention to them, there was ninety per cent who were totally ignorant.

Agricultural editors have worked faithfully for years, to induce our rural population to read and think – their increasing circulation (that of older papers) indicates that they have made some progress, but we see there is

something wanted to produce an excitement which, when once created, we can throw on fuel and increase the flame.

Agricultural societies have done much good by establishing fairs; yet these are generally the work of a few right-minded, enthusiastic men, aided oftentimes by aspiring politicians. At these fairs the great attractions generally are implements and works of art, while the products of the soil offer the least attractions, and to bring the farmers out in any numbers, it is actually necessary to introduce, as a prominent feature, horse-races and numerous side-shows.

I think we can revolutionize all this, and I suggest the project of organizing an Order to embrace in its membership only those persons directly interested in cultivating the soil. I should make it a secret order, with several degrees, and signs and passwords. The lectures in each degree should be practical, appertaining to agricultural work, at the same time convey a moral lesson. While the Order would aim to advance agriculture to a higher rank, by encouraging education, it would at the same time naturally embrace the benefits to its members guaranteed by Masonry. Every tool used by farmers and gardeners could be emblems of the Order in some degree, and each convey a practical and moral illustration. Being a rural organization, lodge furniture need not be extravagant, yet appropriate.

Of membership, I should advocate both sexes being admitted, having separate degrees for the ladies, yet all meet in common. Making the expense of each degree but one dollar, would place it within the means of all. The secrecy would lend an interest and peculiar fascination, while the material for manufacturing new degrees to keep up an interest, would be inexhaustible; and here

I can safely say no order could surpass this in sublimity of the degrees that can be introduced.

My plan of work is this: having a complete, but temporary organization of an United States lodge, dispensations are to be granted to lecturers to organize in several counties in each state; these county organizations to elect one delegate each to the state organization, and the state organization one each to the United States. As soon as the majority of the states shall be represented, the temporary organization shall be permanently organized by the United States delegates. A small fee from each membership shall be annually paid to the united organization, and this will defray its expenses.

The grand head of the organizations will be an auxiliary to the department of agriculture; and as soon as this shall become a permanent department, with its secretary in the Cabinet, it seems to me government can aid materially in advancing the agricultural interests of the entire country. I should object to any state, or United States delegate, holding any government or state political appointment, while serving in that capacity, and thus keep it free from contamination. I should advocate the department sending out agents, men of known ability, for the collection of statistical information, who should be versed as botanists, horticulturists, entomologists, etc., who should deliver free lectures for the organizations, and to which the Order should invite the public. In this way, by practical lectures properly illustrated, a vast amount of good could be effected through appropriations of Congress, and hardly any member of Congress would wish to vote against appropriations that would be called for by the department.

There is nothing now that binds the farmers together, and I think such an Order would, with the most cheer-

ful results. Its tendency would be to encourage the circulation of our agricultural newspapers, which insure the co-operation of the editors. It will increase the demands for fruit trees and nursery products, securing the support of horticulturists, etc. We only need to secure the approval of our leading agriculturists. If such gentlemen as Col. Wilder, Barry, yourself and others, besides the editors of the agricultural press, will endorse the movement, it can possibly be inaugurated by the middle of September.

Trusting these views will meet with your hearty approval, I remain your sincere friend, fraternally,

O. H. KELLEY.

(b) THE FIRST GRANGE CIRCULAR

Kelley. *Patrons of Husbandry*, 38-40. Three hundred copies were sent out by Kelley in November, 1867.

A number of gentlemen engaged in agriculture and its kindred branches in different states, are now perfecting a ritual for an Order, to be composed wholly of persons, male and female, directly interested in agricultural pursuits.

The Order will secure to its members all the advantages of Masonry, but while that is speculative, this will be operative; its main object being to encourage and advance education in all branches of agriculture.

The Order will have its "Lodges," known as "Temples of Industry," or similar appellation. The work in a "Temple" will be divided into four degrees.

The ceremonies of passing from one degree to the other are made pleasing and instructive. Every tool used in agriculture has its appropriate lecture, the aim being to instruct practically and morally in every possible way, and also add an interest to the most noble of all occupations—the cultivation of the soil.

It is believed that by admitting the young folks of both sexes at fourteen or sixteen years of age, it will have a tendency to instill in their minds a fondness for rural life, and prevent in a great measure so many of them flocking to the cities, where all occupations are now crowded, and at the same time depriving the country of that class of young men so much needed there.

The ceremonies in the degrees for the ladies are slightly different but of the same nature, and intended to lighten and render their household duties more pleasing.

The whole, it is believed, will do much towards elevating our occupation, as well as establishing a unity of sentiment among the farmers of the country, and materially increase the circulation of publications devoted to the interests of agriculture, and consequent increase of knowledge.

Politics and religion are not subjects of discussion. Private work of the Order will occupy one evening each month. Public meetings for lectures and discussions are proposed to be held once a week.

Libraries and museums (the latter to contain among other things samples of each year's crop of all cereal productions) are considered necessary appendages to each Temple.

It is designed to have at least one Temple in each county, with one delegate from each to the State Temple: these will send one delegate each to the National Temple, which is to be the head of the Order. Persons holding office under government cannot be delegates to either the State or National Temple.

Should such an organization meet your approval, and you see fit to offer any suggestions to enable the originators to make any further improvements, before it is in-

troduced to the public, the same will be most cordially received and duly considered.

(c) "THE REAL FOUNDATION"

Kelley. *Patrons of Husbandry*, 125-130. Grange Circular as revised by Kelley and Col. D. A. Robertson at St. Paul, Minnesota. "It was on this circular we based the real foundation of the Order."

National Grange, Washington, D.C., September, 1868.

In response to numerous inquiries in regard to the organization and objects of our Order, this circular is issued. The Order was organized, after much labor and preparation, by a number of distinguished agriculturists, of various states of the Union, at Washington, in December, 1867, and since then has met with most encouraging success, giving assurance that it will soon become one of the most useful and powerful organizations in the United States. Its grand object is not only general improvement in husbandry, but to increase the general happiness, wealth and prosperity of the country. It is founded upon the axioms that the products of the soil comprise the basis of all wealth; that individual happiness depends upon general prosperity, and that the wealth of a country depends upon the general intelligence and mental culture of the producing classes. The best mode of securing a diffusion of knowledge, with a view to its application for the increase of the products of the soil, is, therefore one of the most important questions that can be propounded, and we hope to greatly facilitate its solution by the results that will follow the work of this organization. . . When we reflect upon the fact that certain associations have stood the test of ages – many centuries – as, for example, the Masonic Order, we may well pause and ask: "In what does their permanency consist?" We can find but one satisfactory answer to this question, and that is in their ritual, secrecy,

fraternity, and mutual benefits. If, then, these are the efficient elements of extension, permanency and success, why not employ them for the dissemination of useful knowledge, and a more general and effective organization of communities engaged in rural pursuits? and this we propose, not only for their benefit, but also for the increase of national wealth and power. If these are available accessories for the permanent organization of husbandmen – all other means having failed – why not adopt them? . . .

Women are admitted into our Order, as well as young persons of both sexes over the age of sixteen and eighteen respectively. In its proceedings a love for rural life will be encouraged, the desire for excitement and amusement, so prevalent in youth, will be gratified, instead of being repressed; not, however, in frivolities, as useless for the future as they are for the present, but by directing attention to the wonder-workings of nature, and leading the mind to enjoy and appreciate that never-ending delight which follows useful studies, relating to the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms. . . With regard to the modes of instruction adopted in the Order, mention may be made of the reading of essays and of discussions, lectures, formation of select libraries, circulation of magazines and other publications treating directly upon the main subjects desired, namely: those inculcating the principles governing our operations in the field, orchard and garden.

The novelty of this organization, and the manner it proposes of introducing a system of special education, has hitherto prevented the originators from calling public attention to its work, but the great favor with which it has been received, prompts to a bolder action, satisfied that the noble purposes to which the Order is dedicated,

will command the respect and serious attention of all.

We ignore all political or religious discussions in the Order; we do not solicit the partonage of any sect, association or individual upon any grounds whatever, except upon the intrinsic merits of the Order. It needs no such patronage, and would not be what it is if it did.

Its objects, as already indicated, are to advance education, to elevate and dignify the occupation of the farmer, and to protect its members against the numerous combinations by which their interests are injuriously affected.

There is no association that secures so many advantages to its members as this.

The Order of the Patrons of Husbandry will accomplish a thorough and systematic organization among farmers and horticulturists throughout the United States, and will secure among them intimate social relations and acquaintance with each other, for the advancement and elevation of its pursuits, with an appreciation and protection of their true interests. By such means may be accomplished that which exists throughout the country in all other avocations, and among all other classes—combined co-operative association for individual improvement and common benefit.

In the meetings of this Order, all but members are excluded, and there is in its proceedings a symbolized Ritual, pleasing, beautiful and appropriate, which is designed not only to charm the fancy, but to cultivate and enlarge the mind, and purify the heart, having, at the same time, strict adaptation to rural pursuits.

It is an Order in which all persons will find innocent recreation and valuable instruction, pecuniary profit and mutual protection. It is, in truth, a need long felt, and now required.

The secrecy of the Ritual, and proceedings of the

Order have been adopted, chiefly, for the purpose of accomplishing desired efficiency, extension and unity, and to secure among its members in the internal working of the Order—confidence, harmony and security.

Among other advantages which may be derived from the Order, can be mentioned, systematic arrangements for procuring and disseminating, in the most expeditious manner, information relative to crops, demand and supply, prices, markets, and transportation throughout the country, and for the establishment of depots for the sale of special or general products in the cities; also for the purchase and exchange of stock, seeds, and desired varieties of plants and trees, and for the purpose of procuring help at home or from abroad, and situations for persons seeking employment; also for ascertaining and testing the merits of newly invented farming implements, and those not in general use, and for detecting and exposing those that are unworthy, and for protecting by all available means, the farming interests from fraud and deception of every kind.

In conclusion, we desire that agricultural societies shall keep step with the music of the age, and keep pace with improvements in the reaping machine and steam engine. In this Order we expect to accomplish these results. Every Grange is in intimate relation with its neighboring Granges, and these with the State Grange, and the State Granges are in unity with the National Grange. Valuable information, and benefits enjoyed by one, are communicated to all. The old style of Farmers' Clubs, like the old sickle and flail, were very good in their day, but they are of the past, and are too far behind all other enterprise in the progress of civilization. Hence the necessity of this new Order.

O. H. KELLEY, secretary of the National Grange.

(d) FROM MANUFACTURER TO FARMER, 1872

Rural Carolinian, vol. iv, 36. That the Grange intended actively to undertake improvement of the business methods in which farmers were interested is clear from the following representative circular.

[A circular has been issued by the Executive Committee of the National Grange P. of H., addressed to manufacturers of agricultural and domestic implements, Machinery, etc., from which we make the following extract:—Ed. *Carolinian.*]

To enable the members of the Order to purchase implements and machinery at as low cost as possible, by saving the commission usually paid to agents, and the profits of the long line of dealers standing between the manufacturers and the farmers, the Executive Committee of the National Grange desire to publish a list of all establishments that will deal directly with State and Subordinate Granges. The list will be regarded as strictly confidential, and one copy only will be furnished to each Grange.

Large orders can thus be made up by the consolidation of the orders from Granges in the same state or vicinity, and special terms for freight, etc., arranged with transportation lines, thereby affecting another large saving to the purchaser.

Manufacturers of all articles used by farmers who desire to avail themselves of this means of disposing of their products directly to the consumer for cash, thereby avoiding the losses incident to the credit system, or the storing of goods in the hands of commission merchants and agents, are invited to send their catalogues and wholesale price list to, and to correspond with,

O. H. Kell[e]y, sec'y of the National Grange, Washington, D.C.

(e) LEGISLATION, NOT POLITICS

Proceedings of the State Grange of Wisconsin, second annual session, 1874, p. 31. Although the Grange insisted at all times that it would not indulge in political and religious controversies, such resolutions as the following will show the attitude of the active members.

(CONFIDENTIAL.) At a meeting of the Executive Committees of the Patrons of Husbandry, for the States in the Mississippi Valley, held at Keokuk, Iowa, Oct. 16th, 1873, among other things the following resolution was adopted.

RESOLVED, that in the opinion of this convention, the Executive Committee of each state should be charged with the special duty of corresponding with their respective representatives in the National Senate and House of Representatives, upon the subject of the speedy improvement of the Mississippi River, at its mouth, and at such other points upon it, as work may have been already commenced by the general government, and upon the speedy improvement of the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers; that the result of such correspondence be communicated by each such Executive Committee to a Central Committee, to be appointed by this convention. That such Central Committee shall thereupon take measures to communicate the combined result of such reports, in a condensed form, to each and every state and subordinate Grange of the P. of H. throughout the United States, with such suggestions as said committee shall after due deliberation consider advisable to make, including therein a request for the active co-operation of each Grange, to bring about the consummation of this step, towards securing the full realization of this great desire and absolute necessity of the people, having due regard to uniform action therein; especially shall such Central Committee, in making the

aforesaid suggestions, advise the Granges throughout the Union, to hold to a strict, real and actual accountability, their respective U.S. senators and representatives, and from time to time take such measures as will in no uncertain terms, manifest the determination of the Order to insist upon prompt and decisive action by our national legislature upon the subject under consideration.

The central committee appointed, consists of J. H. Osborn, of Wisconsin, Ch'n; Spencer Day, of Iowa; S. F. Brown, of Michigan; Wm. Hester, of Mississippi; A. Golder, of Illinois; E. R. Shankland, of Iowa.

(f) SOUTHERN PROBLEMS

Proceedings of the Seventh Session of the National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry, St. Louis, Feb. 4, 1874, pp. 60-63.

MEMORIAL TO THE COTTON STATES. The undersigned, representatives of the Cotton States in the National Grange, beg leave to present to the Patrons of Husbandry in the cotton-growing section of the Union, the following suggestions, which they believe to be justified by the present condition of the South.

During the past seven years, our cotton fields have added to the wealth of the world ($2,000,000,000) two thousand millions of dollars, and caused prosperity to smile upon every one who has handled our crops save those who struggled for its production. Annually the energies of the cotton planter have been exhausted in attempting to produce a maximum crop of a single staple, whilst quite as frequently he has reduced his means in supplying his necessary wants. A system based upon such a policy, and producing such results, must be radically wrong, and if persisted in, will lead to bankruptcy and ruin. We propose to inquire into the cause of

this evil, and, if possible, present a method of removing it.

Has it been that the supply of cotton has exceeded the demand? Statistics do not prove this a fact. Is it that our labor his been unreliable and expensive? The same labor investment has nowhere yielded a greater market value of products. Has Providence inflicted upon us agricultural disasters? He has often interposed for our benefits. What then has averted our anticipated prosperity? Are we not responsible for our direful condition, in that we have neglected too much the growth of breadstuffs, and substituted therefor almost exclusively the cultivation of cotton? No people can ever become prosperous who are not self-sustaining. Our fertile soil, exhaustless mineral wealth, abundant water power, and genial, salubrious climate avail us nothing if annually we expend millions for subsistence. It is generally conceded that home-grown bread is cheaper than purchased supplies; and the observation of every planter is, that those southern farmers who live within themselves are more independent and less encumbered with debt than those who have relied solely upon the cotton crop. Were it otherwise, it is hazardous for any people to rely upon others for a supply of those articles which are necessary for their daily consumption.

The horrors of famine which have more than once cursed the people of India, in their efforts to grow cotton to the exclusion of breadstuffs, would have been repeated in our midst but that we were able to supply our necessities from the teeming granaries of the northwest. We shrink from the contemplation of what would be our condition should disaster deprive us of that resource. During the past year, certain portions of Iowa, Minnesota, and Dakota have been invaded by the grasshopper

which has swept their fields like a fire, and destroyed every vestige of vegetation. Imagine your condition, should a similar invasion become general in the northwest. Couple with this idea the total failure of a cotton crop either from the worms, from drought, or from any other unavoidable cause. Improbable as such visitations may appear, have we the power to prevent them; and is it wise to subject ourselves to the possibility of becoming the victims of such calamities? Depend upon it, our wisest and safest policy is, as far as practicable, to produce at home our necessary supplies. Is there a farm in the South upon which this can not be done, and at the same time produce an average cotton crop as the net result of the farmers' annual labors? We believe there is not; and you have only to practice this policy for the year 1874, and the harvest-time will proclaim redemption to the South, and a return to its wonted prosperity.

As our Constitution expresses it "the prosperity of a nation is in proportion to the value of its productions." Then how magnificently prosperous should be the Cotton States of this Union! Annually four millions (4,000,000) of bales of cotton are produced upon southern soil. But what proportion of this vast amount is retained to indicate our prosperity? One half of it is expended for necessary supplies, whilst the remainder is divided between labor and taxes. Hence the cost of production has succeeded the value of the article produced. Shall this policy continue? Extensive cotton crops have evinced our unity of purpose, and entailed poverty upon us. An equal uniform adhesion to mixed husbandry would secure our recuperation.

Patrons of the South, do you appreciate your privileges? Reflect upon your opportunity to exact tribute of the world. Cotton is a necessity, and the extent of that

necessity can be calculated with exactness. It is equally well known what proportion of that necessity must be supplied by the Cotton States of America. If three million five hundred thousand bales (3,500,000) are grown, they will be consumed before another crop can be gathered, and a remunerative market price will be sustained by the consequent demand. If four millions five hundred thousand (4,500,000) bales are grown the large marginal excess will control and depress the market. Is it not within the power of our organization to control this feature of our condition? Alternatives for success are numerous, but we need rely upon the single one of coöperating in the determination to subsist at home. With this end attained, there is no reason why we should not be the happiest, most independent and prosperous people on earth.

D. WYATT AIKEN, S.C., Member Ex. Com. Nat. Grange; W. H. CHAMBERS, Master State Grange, Ala.; A. J. VAUGHAN, Master Mississippi State Grange; BEN. F. WARDLAW, Master State Grange, Fla.; JOHN T. JONES, Master State Grange, Ark.; H. W. L. LEWIS, Master State Grange, La.; G. J. SMITH, Master State Grange, Ga.; W. MAXWELL, Master State Grange, Tenn.; COLUMBUS MILLS, Master State Grange, N.C.

(g) ANNUAL SESSIONS OF DELEGATES, 1873-1879

(1) Sixth Session, Georgetown, D.C., January 8-11, 1873.

Proceedings of the Sixth Session of the National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry, Washington, D.C., January 8, 1873. This was the first session as a delegate body, but the sixth annual session of the national organization. It followed the first really active year. Twenty-three delegates were present. The preamble, constitution, and by-laws were overhauled, the National Grange was incorporated, and committees on transportation and coöperation made reports. Prior to 1873 the national organization was in financial trouble. By 1874 their treasury began to fill. By 1875 officers were well paid; large donations were made to members who suffered by flood, locusts, etc.; and money was loaned and afterward donated to the State Granges.

By 1877 rigid economy was preached, and expenses necessarily reduced. The secretary's report in 1873 follows in part.

[5, 6:] During the past year there have been organized eight State Granges in the following States: Illinois (reorganized), Indiana, Wisconsin (reorganized), Vermont, South Carolina, Nebraska, Mississippi, and Kansas; while Michigan and Missouri are ready to be admitted, as well as Ohio, Tennessee, and Arkansas; Oregon will not be far behind. In regard to the standing of the states as to working and paying Granges, Iowa takes the lead – having seven hundred and fifty-four recorded. South Carolina stands next, having organized its State Grange with sixty-two Sub-granges, and has now on record one hundred and two Granges, and with Mississippi, with sixty-one Granges, are the only States where every Grange reports and pays dues promptly. . . We now have Sub-granges organized in twenty-two states, and three have been established in Canada. The total number of Granges is 1,362. [1,105 organized during the year.]

[The Preamble, Constitution, and By-laws, as overhauled and adopted, contained the following, pp. 12-18:]

PREAMBLE. Human happiness is the acme of earthly ambition. Individual happiness depends upon general prosperity.

The prosperity of a nation is in proportion to the value of its productions.

The soil is the source from whence we derive all that constitutes wealth; without it we would have no agriculture, no manufactures, no commerce. Of all the material gifts of the Creator, the various productions of the vegetable world are of the first importance. The art of agriculture is the parent and precursor of all arts, and its products the foundation of all wealth.

The productions of the earth are subject to the influence of natural laws, invariable and indisputable; the amount produced will consequently be in proportion to the intelligence of the producer, and success will depend upon his knowledge of the action of these laws, and the proper application of their principles.

Hence, knowledge is the foundation of happiness.

The ultimate object of this organization is for mutual instruction and protection, to lighten labor by diffusing a knowledge of its aims and purposes, expand the mind by tracing the beautiful laws the Great Creator has established in the universe, and to enlarge our views of creative wisdom and power.

To those who read aright, history proves that in all ages society is fragmentary, and successful results of general welfare can be secured only by general effort. Unity of action cannot be acquired without discipline, and discipline cannot be enforced without significant organization; hence we have a ceremony of initiation which binds us in mutual fraternity as with a band of iron; but although its influence is so powerful, its application is as gentle as that of the silken thread that binds a wreath of flowers.

The Patrons of Husbandry consist of the following:

ORGANIZATION – SUBORDINATE GRANGES

First Degree: Laborer (man), Maid (woman).

Second Degree: Cultivator (man), Shepherdess (woman).

Third Degree: Harvester (man), Gleaner (woman).

Fourth Degree: Husbandman (man), Matron (woman).

STATE GRANGE. *Fifth Degree*: Pomona (Hope). Composed of Masters of Subordinate Granges and their wives who are Matrons. Past Masters and their wives

who are Matrons shall be honorary members and eligible to office, but not entitled to vote.

NATIONAL GRANGE. *Sixth Degree*: Flora (Charity). Composed of Masters of State Granges and their wives who have taken the degree of Pomona. Past masters of State Granges, and their wives who have taken said degree of Pomona, shall be honorary members and eligible to office, but not entitled to vote.

Seventh Degree: Ceres (Faith). Members of the National Grange who have served one year therein may become members of this degree upon application and election. It shall have charge of the secret work of the Order, and shall be a court of impeachment of all officers of the National Grange. Members of this degree are honorary members of the National Grange, and are eligible to office therein, but not entitled to vote.

CONSTITUTION. ARTICLE I—OFFICERS. *Section* 1. The officers of a Grange, either national, state, or subordinate, consist of and rank as follows: master, overseer, lecturer, steward, assistant steward, chaplain, treasurer, secretary, gate-keeper, Ceres, Pomona, Flora, and Lady Assistant Steward. It is their duty to see that the laws of the Order are carried out.

Section 2. In the Subordinate Granges they shall be chosen annually; in the State Granges once in two years; and in the National Grange once in three years. All elections to be by ballot. [Also provides for filling vacancies.]

Section 3. The Master of the National Grange may appoint members of the Order as deputies to organize Granges where no State Grange exists.

Section 4. There shall be an Executive Committee of the National Grange, consisting of three members, whose terms of office shall be three years, one of whom shall be elected each year.

Section 5. The officers of the respective Granges shall be addressed as "Worthy."

ARTICLE II – MEETINGS. *Section* 1. Subordinate Granges shall meet once each month, and may hold intermediate meetings as may be deemed necessary for the good of the Order. All business meetings are confined to the Fourth Degree.

[*Sections* 2, 3, State Granges and National Grange meet annually.]

[ARTICLES III – IV, Laws and Ritual are framed by National Grange.]

ARTICLE V – MEMBERSHIP. Any person interested in agricultural pursuits, of the age of sixteen years (female), and eighteen years (male), duly proposed, elected, and complying with the rules and regulations of the Order, is entitled to membership and the benefit of the degrees taken. Every application must be accompanied by the fee of membership. If rejected, the money will be refunded. Applications must be certified by members, and balloted for at a subsequent meeting. It shall require three negative votes to reject an applicant.

ARTICLE VI – FEES FOR MEMBERSHIP. [Minimum rates: men, five dollars; women, two dollars.]

ARTICLE VII – DUES. [Minimum rate, ten cents a month.]

ARTICLE VIII – REQUIREMENTS. *Section* 1. [Reports, etc., to the National Grange on crops, implements, stock.]

Section 3. If any brothers or sisters of the Order are sick, it shall be the duty of the patrons to visit them, and see that they are well provided with all things needful.

Section 4. Any member found guilty of wanton cruelty to animals shall be expelled from the Order.

Section 5. The officers of Subordinate Granges shall be on the alert in devising means by which the interests

of the whole Order may be advanced; but no plan of work shall be adopted by State or Subordinate Granges without first submitting it to, and receiving the sanction of the National Grange.

[ARTICLE IX – Charters and Dispensations issue from National Grange through State Granges.]

[ARTICLE X – DUTIES of OFFICERS.]

[ARTICLE XI – TREASURERS.]

ARTICLE XII – RESTRICTIONS. Religious or political questions will not be tolerated as subjects of discussion in the work of the Order, and no political or religious tests for membership shall be applied.

ARTICLE XIII – AMENDMENTS. [Require two-thirds vote in National Grange, and ratification by three-fourths of State Granges.]

BY LAWS – ARTICLE 4. Questions of administration and jurisprudence arising in and between State Granges, and appeals from the action and decision thereof, shall be referred to the Master and Executive Committee of the National Grange, whose decision shall be respected and obeyed until overruled by action of the National Grange.

ARTICLE 9. It shall be the duty of the Executive Committee to exercise a general supervision of the affairs of the Order during the recess of the National Grange; to instruct the secretary in regard to printing and disbursements, and to place in his hands a contingent fund; to decide all questions and appeals referred to them by the officers and members of State Granges; and to lay before the National Grange at each session a report of all such questions and appeals, and their decisions thereon.

ARTICLE 12. Each State Grange shall be entitled to send one representative, who shall be a Master thereof,

or his proxy, to all meetings of the National Grange. He shall receive mileage at the rate of five cents per mile both ways, computed by the nearest practicable route, to be paid as follows: The master and secretary of the National Grange shall give such representative an order for the amount on the treasurer of the State Grange which he represents, and this order shall be receivable by the National Grange in payment of state dues.

ARTICLE 13. Special meetings of the National Grange shall be called by the master upon the application of the masters of ten State Granges, one month's notice of such meeting being given to all members of the National Grange. No alterations or amendments to the by-laws or ritual shall be made at any special meeting.

(2) Seventh Session, 1874.

Proceedings of the Seventh Session of the National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry, St. Louis, Missouri, February 4, 1874.

[T. R. Allen, master of the State Grange of Missouri, welcomed the National Grange, as follows (pages 6-8):]

. . . When I pledged you, as a result of a favorable consideration of my motion, that we would have one hundred granges in the state by the time this session convened, I did it with fear and trembling. . . We had nominally at that time nineteen granges in the state, really not half that number of live active ones. And, now, behold! I have exceeding great pleasure to inform you that instead of one hundred we have one thousand five hundred live, active working granges. . . The organization now exists in nearly every one of the one hundred and fourteen counties of our state. . . The exhibition I there witnessed [session of 1873] of fraternal sympathy, Christian spirit, harmonious unity of ac-

tion, oneness of purpose, entire absence of sectional, political, or other prejudices or jealousies among men, assembled for the first time from all the extreme sections of our country, that had so recently been convulsed and torn by the worst passions of our nature, made an impression on my mind so favorable to our order that it gave me courage and strength to labor and to endure in a manner and to an extent that I feel sure I never could have otherwise done. Since that time I have travelled not less than fifteen thousand miles within the limits of our state, in the interests of this noble cause, and have everywhere witnessed the same result among our people. Everywhere men of the most antagonistic feelings, prejudices, jealousies, and even hatred have through its influence been brought together, made better acquainted with each other instead of enemies. They now feel and act toward each other as never before. The social improvement and amenities of life are cultivated as never before. A taste for reading, habits of thought, investigation, and intellectual culture are promoted to an extent never thought of or dreamed of before. . .

[Worthy Master Adams (pages 11-21)]. . . At our last annual meeting, there were represented nine state granges, having under their jurisdiction about thirteen hundred subordinate granges. Today there are state granges in thirty-two states and two territories, all of which are today present through their chosen representatives, and claim under their jurisdiction nearly twelve thousand subordinate granges. . . The causes which have led to this great uprising which have rendered the work of organization possible and even easy are few but grave, and mainly of a nature never contemplated by the originators of the order. In its inception it was intended to be chiefly a social and educational

institution, something after the nature of a farmers' club, only more comprehensive in its plan, including both sexes, and rendered more attractive by a pleasing ritual and the subtle charm of secrecy. It was intended to bring together, at frequent and stated periods, the agricultural population, to interchange views, discuss agricultural, literary, and scientific questions, and cultivate the social amenities of civilized life. In short, it was intended to improve the standing of the tillers of the soil, mentally, morally, and socially. As such it has been and is being a most magnificent success. Though some other features, which have been engrafted on the parent stock at a later day, have occupied a more prominent place in the eye of the public than this, yet it can not be denied that none are of equal importance to the permanent welfare of the Order and its members; for, really, moral worth, mental power, and social culture lie at the foundation of all real progress. There is danger that, in grappling with the gigantic questions of the hour, we may lose sight of the rock on which we builded. . . When the first subordinate granges had been organized, one of the first and most proper subjects for discussion was, how to make two blades of grass grow where one grew before. During these discussions, the fact soon became prominent that how to sell crops was fully as knotty a question as how to grow them. It came to the conviction of members, that we received sixty cents for a bushel of wheat, while the man who ate it paid one dollar and twenty cents for it. We were selling corn at twenty cents per bushel, while the consumer was paying eighty cents for it. In what we bought, there was the same discrepancy between the first cost and what we were obliged to pay. For mowers, sewing-machines, plows, musical instruments, etc., we were paying from

thirty to two hundred per cent above the original cost. We asked ourselves whether this amazing difference was a necessity, or the result of circumstances over which we had control. The solution of this problem soon became a leading idea in the Order.

Subordinate granges, county councils, and state granges have given this one point more thought and attention than perhaps any other, and I am happy to know that satisfactory progress has been made—millions of dollars saved to the members of the Order, and still the outlook is, that we are as yet only on the threshold of this great work. Almost universally we find manufacturers and consumers equally anxious to be relieved of so much as is possible of the loss in transit occasioned by a surplus of middle-men. Most of those manufacturers of small agricultural implements have been found ready to sell direct to granges at wholesale rates. With the manufacturers of reapers and mowers, the case has been different, not that they are unwilling to do so from any principle or prejudice, but no one state was strong enough to show them that they could offer a more certain market for their wares than could be obtained through their present system of agencies. In such cases as these, it is the duty of the national to lend its aid to the state granges, or by itself grapple with the difficulty. The subject of coöperative stores is one in which subordinate granges have manifested much interest, but the want of definite information as to the most approved and successful plan of conducting them has prevented their general establishment. I am of the opinion that the National Grange should prepare a careful and elaborate plan for such stores, using therefor the abundant materials which the experience of the Rochdale and other societies afford. . . Transportation of farm products

to market is also an outgrowth of and properly a part of the same question, and a part which has laid firm hold on the consciences of our people. . . Rates of freight are often exorbitantly high and frequently changed. Often a larger bill is charged for a short distance than a long one, thus discriminating against places; and often higher rates are charged one individual than another, thus discriminating against persons. When we plant a crop, we can only guess what it will cost to send it to market, for we are the slaves of those whom we created. . . What shall be the remedy? Here lies the difficulty, for even in our own ranks there is a Babel of opinion. Some advocate new routes east, subsidized by government, either rail or canal; others would have new roads made by private enterprise and trust to competition. The first of these will require many years before they can afford the relief which we want now; and besides will surely develop into other Credit Mobiliers. The second will only add one more link to the chain which now binds us hand and foot. I see no solution of this question but for Congress to avail itself of its constitutional right to regulate commerce between the states, and for the states themselves to regulate the tariffs within their own boundaries. . .

ARTICLE 5 [Constitution]. This, as now worded, caused, perhaps, more trouble and vexation than any other. I refer to the clause which reads: "Any person interested in agricultural pursuits." This clause is capable of such varied construction that much confusion and misunderstanding has resulted. During the infancy of the Order, when members were few, our strength puny, and our chief aim simply social and educational, there was little danger in construing this clause liberally and admitting nearly all who would pay the fee and con-

sent to join such a weak and unpopular institution. But now all these circumstances are changed. To be a Patron of Husbandry is no longer of doubtful propriety, but the proudest in the land are knocking at our door. The Order has become recognized as one of the great powers in the land, and the gates are besieged, from ocean to ocean, by hordes of speculators, demagogues, small politicians, grain-buyers, cotton-factors, and lawyers, who suddenly discover that they are "interested in agricultural pursuits;" but only as a hawk is interested in the sparrow. . .

ARTICLE 12 also demands most serious consideration to definitely decide what interpretation shall be put upon the word "political." I am gratified that our members are substantially a unit in the opinion that the Order should not in any sense become a political party. But at the same time, there are questions most fundamentally affecting our material interests, which can only be reached through legislation. It seems imperative, that such questions be discussed in the grange. Shall it be ruled that such questions were political in the meaning of the constitution? The questions of transportation, taxation, finance, corruption in public places, were such as come home to the conscience and pockets of our members, and they wish to know whether they will be denied the privilege of canvassing them on the ground of politics. This body should clearly set forth an authoritative interpretation for the guidance of members.

[Executive Committee (pages 28-32)] Your committee have issued three business circulars during the year, and have visited various cities and manufacturing stations in efforts to effect special arrangements for the benefit of the Order. They have also placed themselves

in correspondence with presidents and directors of railroad and other transportation companies, and have made personal visits to many of them, and in all their negotiations the utmost harmony has prevailed. Occasionally prejudices were encountered, and wrong impressions with regard to the aims and objects of the Order had to be removed; but after acquiring a thorough understanding of our propositions in regard to business transactions, satisfactory arrangements were speedily perfected.

Unfortunately for the Order, the impression prevails to some extent that its chief mission is to fight railroads and denounce capitalists. It is a work of time to remove these erroneous impressions, and to prove that we do not wage a meaningless aggressive warfare upon any interest whatever; but that, on the contrary, all our acts and all our efforts, so far as business is concerned, are not only for the benefit of producers and consumers, but equally for all other interests that tend to bring these two parties into speedy and economical contact. . .

The past experience of your committee induces it to suggest for your consideration the propriety of establishing a Business Agency in the office of the National Grange, to be under the direct and entire control of the Executive Committee. Among other duties, this agency would publish, at such intervals of time as would be deemed best, a complete business directory of the Order. This would not only embrace all arrangements made by the Executive Committee of the National Grange, but also those of all state granges; thus showing at one comprehensive view the entire business facilities of the Order, a copy to be sent to each subordinate grange as soon as published. [Advocates collection of statistics, publication of tracts, employment of lecturers.]

[Membership was interpreted, as follows (page 72)]

RESOLVED, that in the sense of the National Grange, the expression, "Interested in agricultural pursuits," in article 5 of the constitution, means, "Engaged in agricultural pursuits, and having no interest in conflict with our purposes."

[Committee on Transportation and Coöperation (pages 78-80)] The Order of the Patrons of Husbandry, representing the productive industry of the country, finds the means of transportation inadequate to carry on its exchanges, while at the same time the cost of transportation, chiefly on account of the inadequacy of the means, is so excessive as to be onerous. The committee would therefore respectfully suggest the following resolutions:

First: that the Mississippi River be made navigable, with a permanent outlet to the gulf, and its channel be so improved as to afford a means of transportation for the exchanges of those states lying upon its borders, commensurate with their demands.

Second: that Congress, in accordance with the provisions of the constitution, so regulate the internal commerce between the states as to make the tax upon internal transportation approximate more justly the actual cost, while at the same time in no way threatening or injuring the legitimate claims of invested capital, to secure such a proportionate share of the wealth produced by industry as it is justly entitled to for its services.

Third: that the proper legislative measures be instituted to restore our foreign commerce to its former condition of efficiency, so that the charge of freight may no longer be a direct tax against our productive industry, but, as it used to be, an increase of our domestic resources.

Fourth: that printed copies of these resolutions be furnished the masters of state granges, and they be in-

structed to forward them to the members of Congress from their respective states.

Fifth: while the above resolutions suggest the aid of the state in attaining our ends, yet your committee would take this occasion to impress upon the members of the Order, that taking the matter in their own hands and organizing effective coöperation between themselves as producers and the transportation companies as legitimately engaged in a necessary function of the business of exchange, is one of the most practical means for producing immediate results.

Your committee were also enjoined to take into consideration the subject of business coöperation. Under this head, we feel the imperative necessity of some definite action, to the end that there may be an exchange of products between producers in the different sections of country. The cotton and sugar-growing states, the manufacturing and mining districts of the Eastern and Middle States and the bread and meat-producing states of the west, are all united by a common bond of interest, an interest which the Order of Patrons will bring together and utilize.

It should be our purpose to arrange a business system by which an exchange of products may be made direct between the producer and consumer without the intervention of an unnecessary number of middle men. It is of but little satisfaction to our brothers of the south to know that corn in Iowa is selling at thirty cents per bushel while they pay eighty, or that meat in Illinois is four cents per pound, while it costs them eight. It is a questionable consolation to the manufacturer of New-England to know that in the valley of the Mississippi a yard of his cloth will buy three loaves of bread, when but one of them ever reaches his family.

Your committee recognize fully that these differences

are not caused by a fair and equitable system of transportation or business needs, but by an unhealthy system of watered stock and an unnecessary number of middle men, which together eat up too large a share of the products of labor. In view of these facts, we respectfully submit the following resolution:

RESOLVED, that the Executive Committee of the National Grange be instructed to give especial attention to furnishing Patrons with tools and implements for the cultivation of our farms, and all family and farm supplies, at as low a price as a legitimate business profit will permit, and also to make arrangements by which a mutual exchange of products between different sections of the country may be made; and they are hereby authorized to employ, if in their judgment it may be necessary, competent agents to aid them in the work.

That they be also instructed to devise some safe plan for co-operative stores, for the information of members of the Order, and transmit the same to the Executive Committees of the several state granges. [Adopted.]

A. B. SMEDLEY, B. F. WARDLAW,
W. MAXWELL, EDWARD HOLLAND.

[On account of the many resolutions promulgated by State and local granges in all parts of the country, each according to the local situation, the following complete statement was adopted (pages 56-60).]

DECLARATION OF PURPOSE OF THE NATIONAL GRANGE

PREAMBLE. Profoundly impressed with the truth that the National Grange of the United States should definitely proclaim to the world its general objects, we hereby unanimously make this Declaration of Purposes of the Patrons of Husbandry:

GENERAL OBJECTS. 1. United by the strong and

faithful tie of agriculture, we mutually resolve to labor for the good of our Order, our country, and mankind.

2. We heartily indorse the motto: "In essentials, unity; in non-essentials, liberty; in all things, charity."

SPECIFIC OBJECTS. 3. We shall endeavor to advance our cause by laboring to accomplish the following objects:

To develop a better and higher manhood and womanhood among ourselves. To enhance the comforts and attractions of our homes, and strengthen our attachments to our pursuits. To foster mutual understanding and coöperation. To maintain inviolate our laws, and to emulate each other in labor to hasten the good time coming. To reduce our expenses, both individual and corporate. To buy less and produce more, in order to make our farms self-sustaining. To diversify our crops, and crop no more than we can cultivate. To condense the weight of our exports, selling less in the bushel and more on hoof and in fleece; less in lint, and more in warp and woof. To systematize our work, and calculate intelligently on probabilities. To discountenance the credit system, the mortgage system, the fashion system, and every other system tending to prodigality and bankruptcy.

We propose meeting together, talking together, working together, buying together, selling together, and in general acting together for our mutual protection and advancement, as occasion may require. We shall avoid litigation as much as possible by arbitration in the Grange. We shall constantly strive to secure entire harmony, good-will, vital brotherhood among ourselves, and to make our order perpetual. We shall earnestly endeavor to suppress personal, local, sectional, and national prejudices, all unhealthy rivalry, all selfish

ambition. Faithful adherence to these principles will insure our mental, moral, social, and material advancement.

BUSINESS RELATIONS. 4. For our business interests, we desire to bring producers and consumers, farmers and manufacturers into the most direct and friendly relations possible. Hence we must dispense with a surplus of middlemen, not that we are unfriendly to them, but we do not need them. Their surplus and their exactions diminish our profits.

We wage no aggressive warfare against any other interests whatever. On the contrary, all our acts and all our efforts, so far as business is concerned, are not only for the benefit of the producer and consumer, but also for all other interests that tend to bring these two parties into speedy and economical contact. Hence we hold that transportation companies of every kind are necessary to our success, that their interests are intimately connected with our interests, and harmonious action is mutually advantageous, keeping in view the first sentence in our declaration of principles of action that "Individual happiness depends upon general prosperity."

We shall, therefore, advocate for every state the increase in every practicable way, of all facilities for transporting cheaply to the seaboard, or between home producers and consumers, all the productions of our country. We adopt it as our fixed purpose to "open out the channels in nature's great arteries that the life-blood of commerce may flow freely."

We are not enemies of railroads, navigable and irrigating canals, nor of any corporation that will advance our industrial interests, nor of any laboring classes.

In our noble Order there is no communism, no agrarianism.

We are opposed to such spirit and management of any corporation or enterprise as tends to oppress the people and rob them of their just profits. We are not enemies to capital, but we oppose the tyranny of monopolies. We long to see the antagonism between capital and labor removed by common consent, and by an enlightened statesmanship worthy of the nineteenth century. We are opposed to excessive salaries, high rates of interest, and exorbitant per cent profits in trade. They greatly increase our burdens, and do not bear a proper proportion to the profits of producers. We desire only self-protection and the protection of every true interest of our land by legitimate transactions, legitimate trade, and legitimate profits.

EDUCATION. We shall advance the cause of education among ourselves and for our children, by all just means within our power. We especially advocate for our agricultural and industrial colleges that practical agriculture, domestic science, and all the arts which adorn the home, be taught in their courses of study.

THE GRANGE NOT PARTISAN. 5. We emphatically and sincerely assert the oft-repeated truth taught in our organic law, that the Grange, National, State, or Subordinate, is not a political or party organization. No Grange, if true to its obligations, can discuss political or religious questions, nor call political conventions, nor nominate candidates, nor even discuss their merits in its meetings.

Yet the principles we teach underlie all true politics, all true statesmanship, and, if properly carried out, will tend to purify the whole political atmosphere of our country. For we seek the greatest good to the greatest number.

We must always bear in mind that no one, by becoming a Patron of Husbandry, gives up that inalienable right

and duty which belongs to every American citizen, to take a proper interest in the politics of his country.

On the contrary, it is right for every member to do all in his power legitimately to influence for good the action of any political party to which he belongs. It is his duty to do all he can in his own party to put down bribery, corruption, and trickery; to see that none but competent, faithful, and honest men, who will unflinchingly stand by our industrial interests, are nominated for all positions of trust; and to have carried out the principle which should always characterize every Patron, that the office should seek the man, and not the man the office.

We acknowledge the broad principle that difference of opinion is no crime, and hold that "progress toward truth is made by differences of opinion," while "the fault lies in bitterness of controversy."

We desire a proper equality, equity, and fairness; protection for the weak, restraint upon the strong; in short, justly distributed burdens and justly distributed power. These are American ideas, the very essence of American independence, and to advocate the contrary is unworthy of the sons and daughters of an American republic.

We cherish the belief that sectionalism is, and of right should be, dead and buried with the past. Our work is for the present and the future. In our agricultural brotherhood and its purposes we shall recognize no north, no south, no east, no west.

It is reserved by every Patron, as the right of a freeman, to affiliate with any party that will best carry out his principles.

OUTSIDE CO-OPERATION. 6. Ours being peculiarly a farmers' institution, we cannot admit all to our ranks.

Many are excluded by the nature of our organization, not because they are professional men, or artisans, or laborers, but because they have not a sufficient direct interest in tilling the soil, or may have some interest in conflict with our purposes. But we appeal to all good citizens for their cordial coöperation to assist in our efforts toward reform, that we may eventually remove from our midst the last vestige of tyranny and corruption. We hail the general desire for fraternal harmony, equitable compromises, and earnest coöperation, as an omen of our future success.

7. It shall be an abiding principle with us to relieve any of our oppressed and suffering brotherhood by any means at our command.

Last, but not least, we proclaim it among our purposes to inculcate a proper appreciation of the abilities and sphere of woman, as is indicated by admitting her to membership and position in our order.

Imploring the continued assistance of our Divine Master to guide us in our work, we here pledge ourselves to faithful and harmonious labor for all future time, to return by our united efforts to the wisdom, justice, fraternity, and political purity of our forefathers.

[Money was appropriated to assist members in Iowa, Minnesota and Dakota who suffered from "grasshopper plague;" the organization refused to take up the subject of national finance; a report from Canada was submitted; a committee to prepare a platform of principles was formed; and Congress was memorialized on the patent laws.]

(3) Eighth Session, 1875.

Proceedings of the Eighth Session of the National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry, Charleston, South Carolina, Feb. 3, 1875.

[Report of Worthy Secretary (page 22)] The membership of the entire Order has been more than doubled since our last session. During February we reached the highest number of Subordinate Granges organized in any month since its foundation, viz. 2,239. During the past five months the work of organizing has settled down to an average of 392 Granges per month, and the work in the Secretary's office has been so systematized that a much smaller force of clerks is employed. The largest number of Granges organized in any State was 1,324– in Kentucky. The whole number organized in the U.S. was 11,941; and the number of Deputies employed, 1,074. . .

[Executive Committee (pages 24-35)] . . . In pursuance of the plan adopted by your committee to make special arrangements with manufacturers and business firms for such articles as are in demand by the Order, and sending a notification of the same to each Grange by means of a confidential circular, it was soon made manifest that an injurious publicity was given to these circulars. Many of them never reached their destination, and in all probability fell into other hands than those for whom they were intended. . . The result could readily be foreseen; manufacturers were soon made aware of the fact that their private arrangements had been made public, contrary to express agreement, and withdrew from the bargain with feelings of distrust of the Order in general, and your committee in particular. . . Your committee therefore resolved to suspend its efforts in this direction until a proper comprehensive plan could be devised and set in motion. . .

The system of agencies as appointed and controlled

by Granges, is inefficient and unsatisfactory. A State Executive Committee appoint an agent in a distant city, and so inform their Subordinate Granges; but for want of cash, the efforts of antagonistic interests, lack of confidence, and probably more than all these, the failure to effect combined co-operative action, the agent is not sustained, and the business progress of the Order suffers greatly in consequence. . . The necessity for establishing purchasing agencies is imperative. Subordinate Granges all over the country demand a full development of this branch of our work. But the question arises, how can it best be effected? Your committee suggest that a purchasing agent should be established by the National Grange in each of the three commercial centres – New York, Chicago, and New Orleans. These agents should receive competent salaries, and be subject to the control and supervision of the National Grange, and act as representatives of the Order. Agents for the disposing of produce should more properly be under the control of the State Granges.

STATISTICAL REPORTS. At its last session the General Grange adopted the report of the Committee on the Good of the Order, recommending a system of statistical crop reports, and committed the subject to the Executive Committee. Your committee, having carefully deliberated upon a system, issued 16,239 circulars to the Subordinate Granges, advising them of the proposed project, pointing out its mutual importance and soliciting their fraternal aid and co-operation. These circulars also comprised blanks to be filled with approximate information as to the area planted in 1873, the acreage of 1874, the amount and market value of products on hand, April 15, 1874, and contained instructions how to reply to these and other inquiries relative to twenty-five of

the leading products of the United States. . . By the first of May, 2,865 replies were received, vastly the majority of which were accompanied by lengthy epistles, containing advice, complaints, suggestions, encouragement, and caustic criticism. Granges in the extreme north charged inconsistency, for asking about the area of 1874 when the earth was still deeply frozen; those of the extreme south replied that they had nothing on hand by the fifteenth of April, and those in the vicinity of cities complained that their specialties were ignored. These returns were compiled and issued as a report by the tenth of May, accompanied by a second blank containing a list of forty-two marketable products, and a separate sheet of minute instructions how to fill up the report, with the usual post-paid and addressed return-envelope. This blank repeated the inquiries in the former blank, with the additional inquiry as to the condition of crops on the fifteenth of June, 1874, and each Grange was urged not to delay their reply later than the twenty-fifth of June, as the information to be disseminated must be speedily compiled and promptly issued to be of any practical benefit. . . By the first of July, 3,157 returns were received and compiled, though many hundreds continued to drop in through that month. Very few of these reports were concise and satisfactory. . . By the fifth of July, the report, with additional sheets of explanations and instructions, was issued to 19,152 Granges, and replies solicited not later than the fifteenth of August. The information asked for in this series of blanks pertained more particularly to the condition of crops on the fifteenth of August, and the price of lands, whether forest or arable, swamp or prairie, up or low lands. By the first of September, 2,907 returns were received and compiled, and a few continued to be received until the first of October.

In this circular Granges had been requested to state, as near as practicable, the proportion of the crops grown by farmers who were not Patrons within their several jurisdictions. Almost invariably the reply was made, "We can only tell by examining the assessor's books." It had now become evident to your committee that the mass of our Order were not yet prepared to appreciate the value of correct crop reports. Discouraged by these unsuccessful efforts, which were a heavy expense to the National Grange, it determined to vary the method, and submit a series of practical questions, which, if properly answered, would convey such information as would indicate whether the organization was of any real benefit to the agriculturists of the country. Nineteen thousand, three hundred and forty-eight sheets containing these questions were issued with the report compiled from the returns received by September first, and a request to return replies by the twenty-fifth of November. To this 3,283 replies were received, compiled, and the results mailed to 21,700 Granges. This department is expensive but its utility is apparent to all who can appreciate the value of statistics as furnishing facts that will form a basis of action. . .

IMPLEMENTS AND TOOLS. By resolution your committee were instructed "to give especial attention to furnishing Patrons with tools and implements for the cultivation of our farms at as low a price as a legitimate business profit will permit." In the endeavor to fulfil the duties prescribed in this resolution, negotiations were opened with manufacturers of farming requisites, and with many of them terms of agreement were concluded; but for reasons already mentioned further efforts in that direction were abandoned and attention specially given to secure rights to manufacture leading

implements, which would become the exclusive property of the National Grange. . . Following up this line of action, the following rights have been secured: the Werner harvester, which, in competitive trials, has proved to be equal to the best of its kind, and which can be had at a cost of $140. A combined riding and walking cultivator, of which the Patrons in Kentucky, after a trial last summer, say there is no better machine of its kind. This is furnished for $25. A superior seeder that can be sold for $40. Also, exclusive control of a sulky spring-toothed hay rake. Cost, $25. An arrangement has been made with the Climax Manufacturing Company for a combined self-raking reaper and mower, at a cost of $145. Additions to these are in progress, and it is hoped that the time is not far distant when the Order will control a full list of all machinery required upon the farm and plantation. . .

During the month of July last year a letter was received from Brother Porter of Nebraska, informing your committee of the efforts of Patrons in that state to manufacture cultivators and headers, and that in consequence of not having been able to dispose of the whole of their manufactures, owing to the lateness of the season, they were compelled to ask temporary assistance from the National Grange.

[Donations, ten thousand dollars to sufferers from floods in Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, and sufferers from locusts in Minnesota, Nebraska, and Kansas.]

CO-OPERATIVE STORES. Your committee having been instructed to devise some safe plan of coöperative stores for the information of members of the Order, gave prompt attention to the investigation of this subject, and while the result of its inquiries has not been, perhaps,

sufficiently conclusive to guarantee the safety of a plan, it has recently published a tract upon the principles and management of coöperative stores, based upon an example that has been in successful operation for several years in this country. . .

[Committee on Good of the Order (page 62)] Your Committee also had under their consideration the resolution introduced by Bro. Davie, Ky., in relation to the extension of patents by the U.S. government, and is firmly impressed that unjust and high exactions are made upon plain and simple inventions by the prolonged continuance of letters patent, and that often the rewards of genius and invention are without corresponding benefits to the public. Thus impressed, your committee respectfully return the resolutions and ask their adoption, and ask to be discharged from the further consideration of the same. [Adopted.]

[Committee on the Executive Committee's report (page 70)] . . . RESOLVED: that the Executive Committee, or other agents with whom is entrusted the business affairs of the Order shall withhold the name of the manufacturer or business house from all circulars containing price lists, that may be issued from their several offices; but that price lists containing the name of a manufacturer or business house, may be sent to Masters of State Granges and their appointed business agents, and to no other person. [Adopted.]

Your committee approve of the suggestions made by the Executive Committee on the subject of implements and tools, and recommend their adoption. [Adopted.]

[Committee on Transportation (pages 85, 86)] Your committee . . . express it as the sense of this body that the time has fully come when it is the mission, prerogative, and duty of the government to take such meas-

ures as will encourage the productive interests of the nation. The products of the forest, field and mine form a large portion of the aggregate wealth of the country. While the government should neglect no other interest, yet we are of the opinion that the productive industries have hitherto received too little attention, and we urge upon our representatives in Congress, the immediate, important and vital necessity of such action on their part as will look to providing cheap and rapid means of transportation between all sections of the country and to the markets of the world. There is one measure however of such immediate and pressing necessity that your committee feel compelled to allude to it, viz. the opening of the mouth of the Mississippi River. In view of the fact that so large a territory is dependent on this outlet for its products, we urge upon our legislators the necessity of taking such measures as will open this river to the commerce of the world at the earliest possible moment. Adopted.

The Committee on the Good of the Order reported, recommending the general government to extend such aid to the work of strengthening and re-building the levees of the Mississippi River, as is consistent with national prosperity, etc. Adopted.

[Committee on Resolutions (pages 86-87)] . . . Your committee have viewed with great interest the expressions of approval and the appeals to Congress to forward this great work [Texas Pacific Railroad] emanating from State Granges and Boards of Trade from the Pacific to the Atlantic, and are impressed with the great obvious benefits which would result to this whole nation by the speedy completion of this road. And as it is an enterprise too vast to depend alone for its success upon private capital, equal justice to all sections of our

common country requires the aid of the national government to forward this work under proper restrictions and safeguards insuring the government against loss, and the people against unjust impositions and discriminations. Your committee therefore submit the following resolution:

That this National Grange earnestly invites the attention of Congress to the necessity of a speedy completion of the Texas Pacific Railroad, and asks of that body, reasonable aid to the company which has inaugurated this great national enterprise, under such cautionary restrictions and safeguards as the prudence and wisdom of Congress may devise, to guarantee the government against loss, and protect the agricultural interests of every section of the country against unjust discriminations in the price of transportation. Adopted.

[Committee on Commercial Relations (pages 89-90)] Your Committee on Commercial Relations thoroughly realizing the vital importance of a more economical commerce both between the western and southeastern sections of the Union as well as of a more economical system of international commerce between the producers of America and the consumers of Europe, than now exist via New York and Liverpool, ask to make the following report: that the House of Representatives' Bill No. 3,656, introduced by the Hon. Geo. W. McCrary of Iowa, in the 43d Congress, last session, asking that a company, to be styled the Eastern and Western Transportation Company, be incorporated, subject to the laws of the several states, in which said corporation shall operate its line of road and telegraphic wires, seems to lay out a plan and route from which much good may be achieved, in reducing not only the distance to deep water on the coast of South Carolina and Georgia, but

materially the cost of transporting the bulky and heavy crops of the Mississippi and Missouri valleys to European and South American consumers. As the bill grants no subsidy or land except a right of way two hundred and ten feet wide, and as the measure contemplates doing what is so sorely needed by the people of this country viz. making the road a public highway and post-road, we respectfully recommend that your body commend the memorial of the "Eastern and Western Transportation Company," praying that the H. R. Bill 3,656 incorporating said company be enacted. This company is applying to the several states interested, for concurrent acts of incorporation, and for the grant of the necessary right of way, and privileges, under proper stipulations. We therefore commend to the attention of this body, these subsidiary acts, and ask that the local aid necessary to secure proper legislation be afforded, by the fraternity residing in the several states directly interested. [Yeas and nays demanded; adopted, twenty-one to eleven.]

(4) Ninth Session, 1875

Proceedings of the Ninth Session of the National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry, Louisville, Kentucky, November 17, 1875.

[Secretary's Report (pages 16-17)] . . . It [the grange] is the leader of modern associations in admitting old and young of both sexes. The Masonic Order, consisting of blue lodges, chapters, commanderies, and other branches of its organization, numbers twelve thousand nine hundred and thirty bodies on the entire globe; the Odd Fellows number seven thousand and fifty-one lodges, encampments, etc., giving a total of nineteen thousand nine hundred and eighty-one in the whole world; and those Orders have existed for centuries; while at the outside we have but eight years' growth, and have issued twenty-four thousand two hundred and

ninety charters, confined to the United States alone. We stand far in the lead of any other association. . . During the three years past there have been upward of three thousand deputies at work reporting directly to our office. . . State secretaries this year report a total paying membership of seven hundred and sixty-two thousand two hundred and sixty-three, while the increase of new Granges for the past month has been ninety-two. . . How much of the resources of the National Grange have been spent during the past three years in diffusing knowledge? Are we not losing sight of our ultimate object? Co-operation in buying and selling seems to absorb the attention to the exclusion of every thing else. Ought we not as representatives of this grand body of American farmers do more toward the education of the people by means of tracts and competent lectures?

[Executive Committee (pages 19-22)] . . . We find many of our grange agents doing business on the usual commission system, differing in nothing from ordinary commission merchants, except perhaps in some instances at a slightly less commission; that in general there is no co-operation among these agencies, but on the contrary the usual jealousy which obtains among rivals, which is contrary to the genius of our institution, and its consequences very damaging to our Order.

We submit that the commission system applied to our Order is false in theory, unjust to our members (as no distinction is made so far as we are informed between the members and those not members), and that under this system, instead of building up our Order, we are building up commission merchants under our auspices, perhaps to assert their independence of us whenever it may suit their interest or convenience. Where

the agents are receiving a stated salary from the treasurers of the State Granges, we find they are doing more and better, and have the confidence of our members to a much greater extent. . .

The disposition among our members to inaugurate manufactories and to increase the products of the soil, the forest, and the mine, in the different sections of our country is well known. The wisdom of such a policy is evident. To facilitate the progress of such worthy enterprises we have employed much of our time in visiting the machine-works and mill-works of New England and other sections of the country, obtaining estimates of the cost of machines for such manufactories as we know are suited to our people and desired by them, valuable statistics in this connection; making terms for mill and other machinery, as we have heretofore done for farming implements; negotiating with skilled mechanics, operative artisans; presenting to capitalists in the east information of the great undeveloped resources of the west and south, inviting them to at least "come and see." . .

[Following is the first murmur of what is to-day the inspiration of the really large farmers' organizations:]

[Page 54] The Committee on Good of the Order, to whom was referred the preamble and resolutions [by Montgomery County Grange No. 7, Maryland] urging the adoption of such measures as will fix the prices of the products of our farms, has well matured the same, and are of the unanimous opinion that such action at this time would be hasty, as in a large portion of our country the crops are mortgaged to others for advances to make the crops, and it would be a violation of good faith to withhold the crops. Such a state of things indeed is unfortunate – yes, deplorable – but too true; and your committee earnestly recommend that in pitching the next

crop our brothers generally should so plant as to enable them, if possible, to control their crops. When this is done the measure suggested will be wise; and farmers, like all others, should have something to do in fixing the prices of these products. [Adopted.]

[Committee on Co-operation (page 141)] RESOLVED, that the National Grange recommend that each state appoint, through its proper authority, one general business agent, who shall be a member of our Order. Such agent shall give such a bond as his State Grange or its Executive Committee may deem necessary to cover all liabilities, and shall make such terms and negotiations for the Patrons of his state as the interests of the Order demand, under the direction and supervision of the proper authority of his state. Said agent shall exchange confidential price-lists with the business agents of other states at least once a month, together with a statement of the best freight-rates obtainable, as near as practicable, and shall buy and sell, or cause to be bought and sold, for the Patrons of other states on the same terms as for his own. [Adopted.]

[By Lang, of Texas (page 152)] RESOLVED, that it is the sense of the National Grange that a state legislature has no power to grant vested rights of an unconditional character to individuals or corporations, to empower them to throttle or clog the commercial highways of the country, and the people themselves are incapable, as a sovereign body, of parting with the right to resume concessions of public franchise to private corporations. [Adopted.]

[Page 162] WHEREAS, all donations by Congress, together with the expenses and support of the Federal Government of these United States, are made up of the contributions of all the people; and

WHEREAS, the public domain of our common country

is an inalienable heritage in which every American citizen has an interest; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that neither money nor lands belonging to the people can, in equity or of right, be appropriated by Congress to aid private speculations, either of individuals or corporations, without reserving the right of control over the same.

RESOLVED, that the Congress of the United States be and it is hereby requested to pass a law at the next session thereof, affirming the right of the several states to regulate the rates of freights and fares on railroads. [Adopted.]

(5) Tenth Session, 1876.

Proceedings of the Tenth Session of the National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry, Chicago, Illinois, November 15, 1876. In the effort to exclude politics the Grange gradually returned to the original objects of a social and educational society. Political questions were taken up by the Farmers' Alliance. The Grange also abandoned much of its business activities; most of its agencies failed; only a few stores survived; and it did not attempt to regulate prices.

[Secretary's Report] . . . The tables show as follows: Eight hundred and eighty-five new Granges have been organized during the past fiscal year, and 24,800 since the origin of the Order. Of this number 650 have surrendered their charters. Five hundred and fifty have had their charters revoked at the National office. Seven thousand are known to be delinquent in payment of dues to their respective State Granges for one quarter or more. Eight hundred have consolidated with other Granges. Leaving 15,800 paying Subordinate Granges, and a total paying membership of 550,000 in the United States. This shows an apparent diminution of numbers since last year; but it must be remembered we then counted all, whether active or dormant, paying or delinquent. The Order is without doubt stronger than twelve months ago. The useless

and inactive members have retired, and today we count in round numbers 550,000 men and women, a paying membership, ready to assist you in whatever good work your wisdom may design.

[By Bro. Davie, Ky. (pages 23-24)] WHEREAS, it is universally admitted by all men that agriculture is the true basis of individual and national prosperity; therefore, its due encouragement should enlist the sympathies and endeavors of every citizen of every class; and, whereas, the agricultural masses compose at least one half of the population of the free states of America, upon whom ultimately rest the taxes which sustain the government; and, whereas, the political affairs of the government for a hundred years past have from the very nature of things been chiefly in the hands of the professional, manufacturing, and mercantile classes, which always have, do now, and will always in future look wisely to their special interests, in adjusting governmental burdens, or securing the tender regard of the government towards themselves, and, whereas, it is the duty of wise and just legislators to see that the blessings and burdens of government are shed or laid with impartial rule upon all classes alike; and, claiming for ourselves no more than the happiness, wealth, and general prosperity of every citizen, we seek to share in the due and proper encouragement of American agriculture; therefore,

RESOLVED, that American agriculturists demand that they shall be recognized as a real factor in this government by the establishment of a bureau of agriculture, to be presided over by a cabinet officer, who shall organize the same upon a plan to be devised by the wisdom of Congress, which shall embrace to the fullest the agricultural interests of 20,000,000 of the people, and whose

counsel and advice shall have due weight accordingly to the same on matters affecting the agricultural people and also our public affairs generally.

RESOLVED, that we unite as agriculturists in one common cause to secure this object from Congress and the Chief Executive without regard to political affiliation, and that the Executive Committee are hereby instructed to send this preamble and resolutions to each member of the Congress of the United States, and that each State Grange prepare and sign petitions setting forth our desires for the accomplishment of this object as the very highest that can engage our common endeavors; and we do hereby earnestly call upon every Grange in the United States to give us their assistance, and every farmer and planter not a Granger, to give his aid; and furthermore, that the Executive Committee shall communicate this preamble and resolutions to every State Grange, and solicit the co-operation of every Grange in the United States, and that of every farmer and planter throughout the land, in such form and manner as to them may seem best calculated to attain the object set forth herein. [Adopted.]

[Committee on Education (pages 106-108)] . . . What do we see on looking around us? Richly endowed ancient colleges for men to learn the use of their minds, but not of their bodies—where they may learn to become lawyers, doctors, ministers, professors of every thing in which the use of the hands is ignored, and where, moreover, they learn to despise bodily exertion and those who "earn their bread by the sweat of the brow." The wants of the city have raised commercial schools, academies of music and of art. . . Fourteen years ago, Congress decided upon and perfected a plan for the establishment of an agricultural college in each

state. Since that time, some of the states have established agricultural colleges as separate and distinct schools, while others have united their funds with other schools, or universities, and made the agricultural feature more or less subordinate to the demands of other branches of knowledge.

More or less success has attended these schools, but it is the opinion of your committee that the farmers of our country have not taken that interest in those schools, or given them that support, which they needed to make them serve the important ends for which they were established.

We, therefore, recommend to this National Grange that the question of agricultural colleges be fully discussed at this meeting, in order that we may learn our duty to these schools, and, through the State and Subordinate Granges, call the attention of the farmers of the country to their importance.

In connection therewith we offer the following resolutions:

WHEREAS, the proper education of our children is a matter of the greatest consequence to us as citizens; and, whereas, the development of the sciences underlying agriculture, and the thorough instruction of our people in the best practical methods of cultivating, saving, and marketing our several foreign products, is of the greatest importance to us as farmers; and, whereas, the Congress of the United States did, in the year 1862, make a donation of lands for the founding of colleges for instruction in the science and in the practice of agriculture; therefore,

RESOLVED, that this Grange, the national head of the great organization of farmers, do appoint a standing committee of three members, to be composed of the

Worthy Master and two members, to be called a Committee on Education, whose duty it shall be to inquire into the use made of the donations of Congress, above named, in the several states, to inquire what colleges have been established under the said act, what donations have been made to said colleges other than the donations of Congress, and what success they have attained in the prosecution of the work proposed to them in the law creating them, and, in general, to look over the whole ground of agricultural education and to report to this body, at its next session, what has been done and what ought to be done.

RESOLVED, that the several State Granges be requested to appoint committees to consider these matters in their own states and to co-operate with the committee of this body proposed by these resolutions. . . [Adopted.]

[By Ryland] RESOLVED, that it is the sense of the National Grange, representing the great farming class in the United States, that the agricultural colleges ought to be under the exclusive control of the farmers of the country, and that it is evident from the experience of the past that these colleges ought to be, as far as possible, separate and distinct schools, where science, as applied to agriculture, may be taught to farmers' children, fitting them for the high calling of farmers. [Adopted.]

[Executive Committee (pages 109-111)] . . . During the past year in some sections lukewarmness has prevailed; in others, irregularities from an improper appreciation of the scope and philosophy of our Order have crept into our ranks, and discouraged rather than encouraged our members; but in many sections of the Union the Order of the Patrons of Husbandry is established upon a basis so permanent and practical that your committee are warranted in giving hopeful assurance of

our future. . . Your committee have had published and distributed several thousand copies of the co-operative rules adopted at the last session of the National Grange, and recommend that additional thousands be printed for gratuitous distribution among the Subordinate Granges. . . There is at present no system of co-operation at all in practice by our Order. State Agents are appointed, and as soon as their business shows expansion they yearn for an immense capital wherewith to control the markets. Stores are established upon a purely joint stock basis, and at once they are or claim to be "co-operative." This is all irregular, and it is mere haphazard if either the agents or the stores are successful.

[Committee on Coöperation (pages 152-154)] . . . Your Committee on Co-operation have had under consideration the following petitions referred to them on the subject of establishing Wool and Tobacco Depots. . . Your committee instruct me to report: that while it would afford us the greatest pleasure to be able to recommend a plan that the National Grange could adopt that would meet the wishes of our brethren and give them all desired relief, as yet we are not able to see a practical solution of the important subjects under our present system. We learn from our Bro. Blanton, of Virginia, that the Patrons of that state have a Tobacco Warehouse at Richmond under their own control, managed solely by Patrons of their own selection, under their own regulations, and where all Patrons who choose may send their tobacco—without regard to state lines—and that this arrangement is eminently satisfactory to all parties. Even the inspectors are members of our Order; rates are fixed by Executive Committee of State Grange; tobacco sold by Grange Agent; fees for inspection, sixty-five

cents per hogshead; for packages under five hundred pounds, thirty-seven and one-half cents; storage per hogshead, one dollar, outage, fifty cents, paid by purchaser; drayage, twenty cents per package; commissions for selling, two per cent. State Grange Hall in same building; Secretary's and Business Manager's Office, exhibition rooms for agricultural implements, also in same building. This only lacks one thing of being a model of perfection – that of applying the true co-operative principle. We suggest that the Patrons contiguous to other important tobacco centers take measures to adopt the same plan, but on the co-operative principle of dividing net profits among the customers of the establishment. We know of no reason why those Patrons interested in the wool product should not adopt the same plan, or, what would be better, the same plan on the co-operative principle. [Approved.]

[Pages 159-160] The Committee on the Good of the Order have had under consideration the preamble and resolutions offered by Bro. Osborn, of Wis., to wit:

WHEREAS, there are certain objects which are regarded by the members of this Order as essential to their material interests, among which are the following, to wit:

1st. A Department of Agriculture in the National Government, the head of which should be a member of the Cabinet.

2d. The enactment of laws providing for a reduction of the legal rate of interest on money.

3d. The enactment of laws providing for the improvement of natural water-channels.

4th. For the improvement of our patent laws.

5th. For the security of depositors in banks.

6th. For equality of taxation.

7th. For equitable regulations controlling railroad management. And

WHEREAS, such objects can not be attained unless favorable legislation be had from our National Congress. And

WHEREAS, to secure such especial attention from the lawful representatives of the people it has become necessary that earnest demands be made upon them by their constituents. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, that, in order to secure practical results in the direction indicated, the following course of action, intended to develop the latent power of our Order for such purposes, be recommended by this body, to wit:

Forms of petition to Congress for any purpose, or purposes, he may select, shall, from time to time, be drawn up by the Master of this National Grange, and a copy thereof sent by him to the Master of each State Grange, who, thereupon, will see that copies thereof be circulated through the Granges of his state and returned to him for the purpose of being forwarded, with the respectful request for attention, to the Senators and Representatives of the people of that state in the National Congress.

That subsequent thereto, and repeatedly, and as often as the Master of the National Grange shall deem beneficial, he will draw up a form of circular letter, to be addressed to the United States Senators and members of Congress, requesting a report of progress in the desired legislation, and urging the necessity of action; such form of circular letter to be sent to the Master of each State Grange throughout the country, with the request that, upon a certain day fixed by him (the Master of the National Grange), copies thereof be forwarded to the Senators and Representatives in Congress from his state; and, furthermore, that we, through our Subordinate, County, and State Granges, urge prompt recognition of our demands, by either favorable or unfavorable

responses to our petitions, on the part of our public representatives.

And would report that the first section thereof, in relation to the establishment of a Department of Agriculture, has already been reported on by your committee and wisely acted on by the Grange, and recommend that the remainder of the resolutions do pass. [Adopted.]

(6) Eleventh Session, 1877.

Proceedings of the Eleventh Session of the National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry, Cincinnati, Ohio, November 21, 1877.

[Executive Committee (page 17)] During the past fiscal year your Committee have had an opportunity of examining, and have made much inquiry and investigation into the system of agencies adopted by the several states, and are warranted in their judgment in advising the discontinuance of any one now in existence. Honest competition is what we want, but not as commission-houses. There have been more failures than successes with our Grange agencies, and how long the successful few are able to maintain themselves is unknown to those who patronize them. Were they established upon the principles embodied in the rules promulgated two years ago by the National Grange, every customer would possess some tangible evidence of their efficiency, and to that extent would their permanency and solvency be beyond question. Your committee would recommend to the National Grange that they use every effort to encourage among Patrons the establishment of retail and wholesale stores upon the strictest principles of co-operation, and discourage the building up of commissioned or salaried agencies. . .

[Secretary's Report (page 36)] While it was very agreeable to see our Order spread rapidly, and every effort was encouraged to make it the largest society that ever existed on this continent, and it still holds that rank,

yet we must acknowledge there was a premature growth. Deputies had not been properly schooled, and their work was hastily performed. A ready speaker had but to deliver one address, and he immediately at the same meeting organized a Grange. The next evening he instituted another in an adjoining town, and so on. Sometimes two to four applications received at my office have borne the same date. We all know that such work must be imperfect. . . Deputies were allowed full liberty, and in their speeches made promises as to what the Order would do, totally unwarranted. Now it becomes our duty to do all we can legitimately to reduce our numbers, by consolidation, revoking of charters, and soliciting the surrender of the feeble ones, until we can get in each state a suitable number of good, solid Granges, and commence work fresh on a solid and permanent foundation.

[By Bro. Chambers of Alabama (page 69] The National Grange, representing as it does the agricultural sentiment of every part of the United States, without intending to infringe that feature of its organic law which forbids the discussion within its fold of any questions of party politics, believes it to be not only its privilege, but its duty to give expression to the universal voice of its membership in condemnation of all such legislation, either on the part of the general or state governments, as tends to the injury of the great productive industries of the country. In this spirit, and with no purpose to take part in the partizan politics of the country, we do hereby declare our disapprobation of the law demonetizing silver, and committing the government arbitrarily to any fixed day in the future for resumption of specie payments; and do therefore hereby express our sympathy with the efforts now being made in the Congress of the

United States for the repeal of these obnoxious measures. [Referred to the Committee on Resolutions, recommended for indefinite postponement, but the Grange rejected the recommendation, by yeas 18, nays 30; and adopted the declaration offered by Chambers by votes of 34 to 9 on the previous question and 30 to 14 on the main question.]

[Resolutions adopted: patent laws; memorializing Congress on deepening the Gulf ports, on postal treaties with Mexico and South American States, and on Department of Agriculture; favoring ship canal connecting Lake Erie and Lake Michigan.]

(7) Twelfth Session, 1878.
Proceedings of the Twelfth Session of the National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry, Richmond, Virginia, November 20, 1878.

[By Bro. Darden of Mississippi (pages 71, 72)] We, the members of the National Grange, desiring to define the precise objects of the Order of Patrons of Husbandry, and place them before the membership of the Order throughout the Union, do hereby set forth the following propositions with our distinct declaration of purpose relating thereto.

The industry upon which our Order is based, is agriculture – the most important of all industries – the foundation and support of all others – the true basis of all our national prosperity. We have observed the condition of our people, and viewed with alarm the encroachments upon their natural rights. While agriculture is the chief source of wealth, and therefore deserving at least equal recognition with other avocations, it is deprived of its just rewards, and oppressed by methods of law. It is made to bear grievous burdens not its own. It is compelled to pay taxes which an equitable distribution would place elsewhere. It is forced, by wicked combinations, to submit to hurtful discriminations against

its products, both in transportation and in the marts of sale. Its votaries have been and are now denied that consideration in public affairs to which the magnitude and the importance of their calling entitle them.

The laws of the nation and of the several states are so framed as to divert from our great industry the rewards which are the incentives to toil, and our earnest remonstrance against their injustice spurned.

In view of these truths, we are bound, in defence of our manhood, to assert our rights, and we therefore declare our unalterable purpose to emancipate agriculture from the burdens unjustly heaped upon it; and the means by which we shall seek to secure the desirable ends–

1st. We shall strive earnestly within and without our Order to extend the benefits of education, which shall comprise knowledge of public affairs and the methods of self-government.

2d. We shall demand, by our ballots, admission in the legislatures of the several states, and in both houses of the National Congress, for representatives of agriculture, chosen directly from its votaries, as the only means of relief.

3d. We shall accord to other industries all the rights, privileges and immunities which we claim for our own, and join with their representatives in earnest endeavors to impress upon the governments of states and nation habits of wise economy and frugality as essential to the thrift and prosperity of all the people.

4th. We shall give constant care and attention to the public schools, in which the youth of the nation are deeply interested, limiting expenditures therefor only by their usefulness, striving always for that higher and practical enlightenment which should become the dis-

tinguishing feature of a free people. [Amended by striking out "by our ballots," and adopted (pages 107-108).]

[Committee on Transportation (pages 96-98)] . . . The only possible action within the reach of agricultural producers, so long as they are represented by other classes in the law-making bodies of this country, state and national, is the right of petition. The American farmers, if organized, could, by a system of co-operative action, attain their full share of influence, and shape the legislation of this country; whenever they will sever their relation with the political party organizations that have heretofore dominated them, and send men from their own ranks or avocation, agriculture will be relieved from an unjust and oppressive share of the expenditures of the government, and the American farmer will command the influence which he, in common with other laborers, is entitled to wield.

The right of petition is left us, and, however humiliating, we are forced to avail ourselves of it for the present. The accompanying memorial to the legislatures of the several states represented in the National Grange, is applicable to and should be sent to the National Legislature. We recommend the memorial be printed and forwarded to the State Grange of the several states, to be by these bodies forwarded to county and subordinate Granges, with a view to general signature by members of our Order, and then have them forwarded to the immediate representatives in the Legislative and Congressional districts.

THE HONORABLE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES of our States and National Legislatures: The undersigned respectfully represent that the inland avenues of transportation and travel are under the control

of corporations authorized by the legislatures of the states, and are under the management of men who have combined, as we believe, in an unlawful manner to discriminate in rates of freight to an extent that is injurious if not destructive of the internal commerce between the states. . .

This power to injure or destroy the labor of one class of people, or one locality or section of the country, to build up individual wealth must come to an end. All classes engaged in the labor of producing are joined in this memorial and respectfully ask of our legislatures and the Congress of the United States to enact general laws, prohibiting unjust discrimination and to regulate the rates of freight and passage by any corporation engaged in transportation of the products of labor as the most effectual way to protect internal commerce.

On motion, the recommendation was concurred in.

[By Brother Lang, Texas (page 118)] RESOLVED, by the National Grange in session assembled, that it is contrary to the laws and purposes of the Order of Patrons of Husbandry, for a Grange, either subordinate, state, or national, to call political conventions, nominate candidates for political office, or discuss their merits. [Adopted.]

[Reports and communications were received on the depressed state of the order. Resolutions adopted: department of agriculture; system of quarantine; making manufacturers and sellers, not innocent purchasers, responsible for infringements of patent rights; instruction in public schools on insect-eating birds and humane treatment of animals; agricultural instruction in common schools; against "casting their ballots" for candidates "addicted to the habitual or even moderate use of intoxi-

cating drinks," twenty-eight to eleven on roll call; against tax on tobacco.]

(8) Thirteenth Session, 1879.

Proceedings of the Thirteenth Session of the National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry, Canandaigua, New York, November 19, 1879.

[Executive Committee (page 22)] . . . The present condition of the Order is neither surprising nor discouraging—it is simply the result of natural laws. The membership is composed of non-associative material. The farmer's vocation of itself tends to isolation, which has become part of his very life, and from which this generation will never fully recover. . .

[Committee on Transportation (pages 121-122)] . . . The partial relief given us by the national and state legislatures, is accepted with thanks, as the result of petition. There is, however, no substantial relief to the over-burdened farmers of America, in any action thus far conceded by the legislative authorities of our government. Thirteen years' experience and association in the Grange has satisfied the American farmers, whom we represent, that their grievances will never be removed until farmers are elected as representatives to the law-making bodies of our states, and to the national legislatures, in such numbers as will constitute those bodies with a fair share of our people. . . To this end we recommend farmers to make such alliance, whenever representatives to the state legislatures or to the national legislature are to be chosen, as will enable them by their votes to elect from their own number an even handed, fair share of representatives. Acting together to accomplish this grand purpose is no violation of their obligation as members of our Order. The assumption of this constitutional right is but the assertion of our manhood, and we cannot longer be dominated by party associations which deny us our equality, or sup-

port a partizan press that ignores the association of American farmers. [Adopted (page 145.)]

V. E. PIOLLET, WM. G. WAYNE, A. R. SHIPLEY, A. P. FORSYTH, WM. W. LANG, Committee.

[Pages 123-125] Your Special Committee, raised "to take into consideration the state and condition of American agriculture, and to report such measures and policies as in their judgment will tend to afford relief from the weights, hindrances and difficulties that may beset it, and to suggest such methods as will restore to American farmers greater prosperity and promote their political and material welfare," have given the subject such consideration as opportunity and circumstances allowed, and present the following report. . . American farming is growing less profitable and less encouraging.

In a country possessing so many facilities of cheap production this discouraging aspect of agriculture must be and is the result of other than natural causes. The annual additions of wealth under the enlightened system of agriculture are enormous, but from the unequal divisions of the profits of labor and the unjust discriminations made against it, the enlistments of property show that the farmers of the United States are not prospering. While it is rapidly extinguishing all debts and restoring an equilibrium to the currency of the country, its votaries are deprived of a just share of the rewards of their toil. Capital concentrates to make corners and form rings to fix prices. Transportation companies are allowed to make and unmake prices at will by their unjust and discriminating tariffs and freights. Subsidies and tariffs are created to protect other industries to the prejudice of agriculture. Commerce is shackled. American productions are denied the markets of the world through partial and restrictive laws. Agricultural property is

made to bear an unequal and undue proportion of taxation to afford exemptions and privileges to other industries. Monopolies are permitted to assume power and control and exercise prerogatives and privileges justly belonging to sovereignty. Encouraged by legislation and stimulated by power, they have grown dictatorial and imperious in their demands, unrelenting in their exactions, and cruel and unmerciful in their impositions. Society has become extravagant and is now a heedless spendthrift of the painful earnings of labor. Government has become proud and autocratic, while her toiling laborers are humiliated in their poverty. States are lavish and prodigal with the people's money. Cities and towns grow rich at the expense and impoverishment of the country. Laws are ingeniously formulated to make justice tardy and thus tend to encourage crime and disorder. In view of the well-established fact that the productive industries must bear the burdens of society, chief among which is agriculture, the natural nursing mother of all the occupations, trades, and professions of our people, it is found that it is over-taxed and overburdened with unnecessary, unjust, unequal, and flagrant impositions, that a just sense of right would transfer to where they justly belong. The farmers of America have on all occasions shown themselves to be a patient and enduring people, and further submission to wrong and injustice will be a sacrifice of manhood and exhibition of cowardice. Stirred with a just sense of right and supported by the integrity of our purpose, the National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry, in the name and interests of the farmers of the United States, sternly demand–

1st. That the Department of Agriculture shall be made an Executive Department, and the Commissioner a Cabinet officer.

2d. That the Agricultural Department shall be sustained and supported by annual appropriations commensurate with the importance of the great and permanent industry it represents.

3d. That commercial treaties shall be made with all foreign countries, giving to American products equal and unrestricted intercourse with the markets of the world.

4th. That governments be administered in a cheaper and simpler manner, consonant with the conditions of the people.

5th. That a more rigid economy in the expenditures of public moneys be re-established.

6th. That the laws shall be plain and simple, to the end that justice shall be speedy, crime punished, and good government maintained.

7th. That the creation or allowing of monopolies to exist is in violation of the spirit and genius of free republican government.

8th. That the tariffs of freight and fare over railroads and all transportation companies shall be regulated, and all unjust discriminations inhibited by law.

9th. That taxation shall be equal and uniform, and all values made to contribute their just proportion to the support of the government.

10th. That the revenue laws of the United States shall be so adjusted as to bear equally upon all classes of property, to the end that agriculture shall be relieved of the disproportion of burdens it bears.

11th. That the patent laws of the United States be so revised that innocent purchasers of patent rights shall be protected, and fraudulent venders alone held responsible for infringements of rights and violations of law.

12th. That a system of elementary agricultural edu-

cation shall be adopted in the common schools of the country.

13th. That we are entitled to and should have a fair representation in the legislative halls of the country, chosen from the ranks of the farmers.

Emphatically asserting our unalterable determination to support and maintain these principles, we demand that they shall be incorporated in the laws of the country for the protection of American agriculture, and invoke the aid of the farmers of the United States in their support, regardless of party affiliations and party mandates. To follow the dictation of partizan influences whilst our earnings are spirited away, and our families beggared, is a degradation and sacrifice that cannot longer be endured.

With manly dignity we boldly declare our rights and interests, and with unwavering devotion will maintain and defend them on all occasions, and this warning is defiantly thrown to the world. [Adopted (page 145).]

W. W. LANG, V. E. PIOLLET, D. T. CHASE,
T. H. HARWELL, A. B. FRANKLIN, Committee.

FINDING LIST OF SOURCES QUOTED

[Sources easily available have been omitted from this list]

GUIDE TO LIBRARIES AND ABBREVIATIONS

Adelbert	Adelbert College Library, Cleveland, O.
Am. Antiq. Soc.	American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.
Amherst	Amherst College Library, Amherst, Mass.
Boston Ath.	Boston Athenæum, Boston
Boston Pub.	Boston Public Library, Boston
Bowdoin	Bowdoin College Library, Brunswick, Me.
Brooklyn Pub.	Brooklyn Public Library, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Brown	Brown University Library, Providence, R.I.
Buffalo Pub.	Buffalo Public Library, Buffalo, N.Y.
Carnegie, Atlanta	Carnegie Library, Atlanta, Ga.
Carnegie, Pittsburgh	Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Charleston Coll.	Charleston College Library, Charleston, S.C.
Charleston L.S.	Charleston Library Society, Charleston, S.C.
Chicago H.S.	Chicago Historical Society, Chicago
Chicago Pub.	Chicago Public Library, Chicago
Chicago Theol.	Hammond Library, Chicago Theological Seminary
Cin'ti Pub.	Cincinnati Public Library, Cincinnati, O.
Clvld. Pub.	Cleveland Public Library, Cleveland, O.
Columbia	Columbia University, New York City
Detroit Pub.	Detroit Public Library, Detroit, Mich.
Essex Inst.	Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.
Evanston Pub.	Evanston Free Public Library, Evanston, Ill.
F.L. Phila.	Free Library of Philadelphia
Ga. Hist.	Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, Ga.
Harvard	Harvard College Library, Cambridge, Mass.
Howard	Howard Memorial Library, New Orleans, La.
I.H.S.	Illinois Historical Society, Springfield, Ill.
Inc.	Incomplete
Iowa U.	Iowa State University, Iowa City, Iowa

J.C.	John Crerar Library, Chicago, Ill.
J.C.B.	John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R.I.
K.H.S.	Kansas Historical Society, Topeka, Kans.
L.C.	Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
Lib. Co. of Phila.	Library Company of Philadelphia
L.S. Jr.	Leland Stanford Jr. University, Palo Alto, Cal.
Lynn Pub.	Lynn Public Library, Lynn, Mass.
Mass. State	Massachusetts State Library, Boston
Md. State	Maryland State Library, Annapolis, Md.
Mer. N.Y.	Mercantile Library, New York
Mer. Phila.	Mercantile Library, Philadelphia
Mpls. Pub.	Minneapolis Public Library, Minneapolis
N.C. State	North Carolina State Library, Raleigh
Newberry	Newberry Library, Chicago, Ill.
N.O. Archives	New Orleans Archives, City Hall, New Orleans, La.
N.Y.H.S.	New York Historical Society, New York
N.Y. Pub.	New York Public Library, New York
N.Y. State	New York State Library, Albany
Oberlin	Oberlin College Library, Oberlin, O.
O.H.S.	Oneida Historical Society, Utica, N.Y.
Pa. H.S.	Pennsylvania Historical Society, Philadelphia
Pratt	Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore, Md.
Princeton	Princeton University Library, Princeton, N.J.
Providence Ath.	Providence Athenæum, Providence, R.I.
San Fr. Pub.	San Francisco Public Library, San Francisco, Cal.
Seligman	Library of Professor E. R. A. Seligman, Columbia University, New York
Springfield C.L.	City Library Association, Springfield, Mass.
U. of C.	University of Chicago Library, Chicago, Ill.
U. of Ga.	University of Georgia Library, Athens, Ga.
U. of I.	University of Illinois Library, Urbana, Ill.
U. of M.	University of Michigan Library, Ann Arbor, Mich.
U. of P.	University of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia, Pa.

U. of T.	University of Tennessee Library, Knoxville, Tenn.
U. of W.	University of Wisconsin Library, Madison, Wis.
Va. State	Virginia State Library, Richmond, Va.
W.H.S.	Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wis.
Worcester Pub.	Worcester Free Public Library, Worcester, Mass.
Work. Inst.	Workingman's Institute, New Harmony, Ind.
W.R.H.S.	Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, O.
Yale	Yale University Library, New Haven, Ct.

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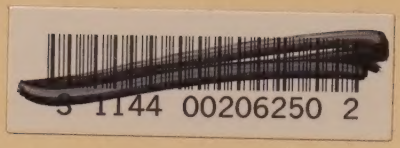
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